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**EUROPEAN UNION'S SUPPORT PROGRAMMES TO
AFRICAN CINEMA: OUTCOMES TO THEIR PRACTICES**

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List of Abbreviations

ACP – The African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States

CEO – Chief Executive Officer

EU – European Union

EDF – European Development Fund

INC – Institution of National Cinema

FEPACI – The Federation of Pan African Cineastes

FESPACO – Festival Pan-Africain du cinéma et de la télévision de Ouagadougou

KIFF – Kenya International Film Festival

KIFFT – Kenyan International Film Festival Trust

KFC – Kenya Film Commission

KIMC – Kenyan Institute of Mass Communication

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

OCTs – Overseas Countries and Territories

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Abstract of the Thesis

Resumo: Programas de Apoio da União Europeia ao Cinema Africano: Resultados das Suas Práticas

A União Europeia tem despendido consideráveis somas em programas de apoio ao cinema africano. Mas terão estes programas tido resultados positivos em todos os casos? Quais são as opiniões dos beneficiários do apoio e de outros intervenientes no sector cinematográfico africano? O grande paradoxo reside em que, mesmo com o apoio da União Europeia, em muitos casos, esses filmes não são acessíveis ao público africano. Estará a União Europeia a contribuir, efetivamente, para o desenvolvimento sustentável das indústrias cinematográficas africanas? O objetivo desta tese é contribuir para este debate, convidando a uma reflexão sobre as relações entre a União Europeia e os países beneficiários de ajuda, ao mesmo tempo que propõe possíveis modelos de parceria para o futuro.

Na primeira parte, aborda-se o cinema dos tempos coloniais, identificando-se o modo como o passado colonial ainda se repercute, na atualidade. Em segundo lugar, destacam-se as grandes mudanças nas relações entre a África e a Europa depois das independências. Em terceiro lugar, considera-se o contexto político e social, desde a década de 1980 até à atualidade, época em que foram introduzidas as políticas da União Europeia para o cinema africano. Em seguida, descrevemos os mais recentes programas de apoio financeiro da União Europeia: o ACP Films Programme, o Media Mundus e o Culture Auction Floor, com uma breve análise dos seus conteúdos, objetivos, critérios de seleção, orientações e âmbito de aplicação.

Na segunda parte apresentamos várias interpretações académicas do conceito do cinema africano. Analisamos, em pormenor, uma das principais críticas em relação à possibilidade de se salvaguardar a autenticidade da visão cinematográfica dos realizadores, quando estes requerem financiamento junto das agências europeias. A referência ao Festival Pan-Africano de Cinema e Televisão de Ouagadougou permitiu-nos considerar alguns aspetos práticos relativos às principais controvérsias acerca do envolvimento europeu neste festival. Posteriormente, referimos a indústria cinematográfica nigeriana Nollywood, salientando que a mesma se tem vindo a desenvolver em África sem qualquer apoio externo.

Na terceira parte consideramos os documentos oficiais de apoio da União Europeia ao cinema africano, análise que é confrontada com testemunhos obtidos através da realização de entrevistas individuais a alguns dos beneficiários de financiamento europeu ao cinema no Quênia, assim como a outros intervenientes na indústria cinematográfica africana e produtores de cinema europeus.

Por último, apresenta-se o estudo de caso do cinema no Quênia a fim de se avaliar a eficácia do apoio do ACP Films Programme à indústria cinematográfica no Quênia. Os resultados revelam que a gestão do processo de candidaturas, a seleção do guião, a comercialização, a exibição e a

distribuição são predominantemente geridos pelos parceiros europeus. Em contrapartida, o caso da Babylon International EU demonstra que a União Europeia diversifica o seu apoio e contribui para o desenvolvimento da indústria cinematográfica africana bem como para a formação de profissionais de cinema locais. Por outro lado, o estudo de caso do cinema queniano revelou uma nova tendência, a da capacidade de os cineastas serem capazes de produzir filmes, independentemente do financiamento estrangeiro, o que leva a sugerir que sejam repensados os atuais padrões de cooperação entre a Europa e a África na área do cinema.

Com base nos resultados do presente estudo, poderá concluir-se que as principais falhas das recentes políticas da União Europeia, por nós identificadas, incluem aspetos como o processo de candidatura, os critérios de seleção, o acompanhamento do projeto, a comercialização, a distribuição e garantia de igualdade na parceria entre a equipa criativa queniana e europeia. No entanto, os nossos resultados demonstram também o impacto positivo sobre as carreiras de cineastas africanos.

Finalmente, são apresentadas algumas propostas no sentido de se melhorar a qualidade dos programas de apoio e de se influenciar o desenvolvimento das indústrias cinematográficas africanas. A presente tese visa defender que, para que os financiamentos sejam eficazes, a resposta dos beneficiários deverá ser um aspeto crucial. Além disso, há que garantir processos de candidatura mais flexíveis e adaptados às necessidades dos cineastas, produtores e públicos locais, bem como um diálogo mais eficaz entre os organismos europeus de financiamento e os cineastas africanos e que as definições do financiamento sejam objecto de acordo mútuo. A comercialização, distribuição e exibição dos filmes apoiados deverão ter lugar antes de mais no continente africano. Se a União Europeia tem um interesse efetivo numa parceria igualitária na área da cinematografia africana-europeia, as políticas de financiamento do cinema devem possibilitar o acesso aos filmes e à cinematografia por parte de um maior número de africanos, para que os mesmos possam desenvolver a sua indústria cinematográfica de um modo mais autónomo.

A questão permanece, se a UE continuará a considerar os africanos como recipientes passivos ou como potenciais parceiros. Cabe aos decisores políticos europeus decidir se pretendem trabalhar num quadro de benefício mútuo. Deste modo, as parcerias terão de ser continuamente analisadas, na tentativa de se identificar e encontrar soluções para uma relação viável e sustentável. Estas são as questões que os decisores políticos da UE devem abordar, se estiverem efetivamente interessados na dinamização da indústria do cinema africano.

Key words: *European Union, ACP Films Programme, Media Mundus, Babylon International EU, African cinema, Kenyan cinema, Riverwood, Nollywood, FESPACO.*

Introduction

The European Union has spent vast amounts of money to support African filmmaking. However, have these programmes always worked and what is the feedback of beneficiaries from the African filmmaking industries players' perspective? The great paradox is that, even with the European Union's support to African filmmaking industry, in many cases, these films have not been accessible to the African audiences. Is the European Union supporting the adequate aspects of African filmmaking? Is it actually contributing to the sustainable growth of the African film industry?

The objective of this thesis is to contribute to a debate that has started about how recent European Union's support programmes have been contributing to the development of the African filmmaking industries. If the EU funding aims to boost African cinema, the question remains why sponsored films are not available for the ordinary African consumers. Therefore, this thesis invites to discuss the current challenges initiating a contribution to building sustainable African cinema industries as well as possible partnership models for the future.

European Union's support programmes have been criticized for restraining African filmmakers' creative visions and controlling African film distribution and exhibition circuits. However, it is debatable that only European funding bodies are to be blamed for preventing African film industries from breaking through. One can only wonder if there would be the same amount of criticism with no European funding available. Preferably, there are challenges to be met by the African filmmakers as well as the European institutions to ensure that the invested funds will contribute to the development of the African film industry.

While considering these issues in general, this thesis focuses on a specific case-study, the Kenyan cinema industry. Through the analysis of the feedback of Kenyan film industry stakeholders, who had the opportunity to work with the European funding bodies, this work intends to question whether recent EU programmes have contributed to boosting the Kenyan cinema industry. This analysis is also contextualized by a more historically-grounded approach, as well as by scholarship on African film and their common critiques of European funding to African filmmaking.

In another part, official European Union's funding to the African filmmaking documents is reviewed, while also considering the outcomes of personal interviews held with beneficiaries of the European funding for filmmaking in Kenya, as well as other African film industry players and European producers. It is important to note that, however, only few of the interviews can be found in the annexes of this thesis. Due to the sensitivities that are attached to funding, Kenyan filmmakers were not comfortable for their interviews to be recorded. One of the main concerns of the filmmakers was that their personal opinions could prejudice other filmmakers who are seeking European funding. However, we obtained permission to identify some of their main ideas regarding funding.

Also, the dissertation intends to articulate scholarly approaches, official EU policy documents and personal interviews with the filmmakers. A literature review involved analysis of available materials on the EU support to the industry of African filmmaking. Also, these materials included reports and guidelines of the EU support programmes to the African cinema, newspapers and magazines and other publications on African film production.

With recourse to interviews with Kenyan filmmakers on the EU support to the African cinema, this thesis aims to analyze the major criticism regarding foreign support to the African filmmaking industry. Considering, on the one hand, the connections between the colonial past and current European aid programmes to African cinema and, on the other hand, the links between critical approaches developed by the African film scholars on these programmes and a practical analysis of the film industry as well as the European support programmes with a special emphasis on Kenya, the present study is, therefore, divided into the following parts.

In the first Chapter we introduce our analysis by pointing out major occurrences between Europe and Africa in the field of filmmaking. Firstly, a glimpse into filmmaking of the colonial times enables us to identify the developments in the colonial past that have had repercussions since the African countries' independence. We overview the main roles that film has played in the colonial times and the ways it registered and projected colonial discourse. Three major colonial powers, differing in their political particularities, British, French and Portuguese, used film for institutional and educational purposes. Colonialists perceived Africans as in need of help; after African countries' independence, Africans would need to be considered having different qualities. However, was it really successful and are African filmmakers being perceived as partners and capable of a rapid self-development? Is

African film production and distribution operated by European companies just as during the colonial times?

These questions still remain debatable and require closer analysis in the context of recent EU support programmes to the African cinema. It is necessary to consider how the colonial past may still influence current European support programmes initiated in respect to the African cinema. This chapter will serve as a starting point for the critical discussion about what has changed in the relations between Europe and Africa after the colonial times. If, during the colonial times cinema has served as a tool for communicating Western ideology and values, are echoes of these colonial attitudes present today?

The chapter on African filmmaking in 1960's - 1970's will focus on the major developmental directions during the period after regained independence, when the main aim was to depict alternative representations of Africa as well as the continent's entrance into a modernity. However, and notwithstanding this shift, there are noticeable aspects of continuance: the production of Africa as a spectacle, the stereotypical representation of white – black relationships and the reworking of the idea of Africa as a 'white man's continent'. After the independence of the African countries, Europe still kept its footprint in Africa especially in the case of Francophone filmmaking due to France's cultural and cooperation policies. However, most filmmakers set out with the aim to create films for the African audiences, Ousmane Sembène being a major figure in the rise of independent postcolonial African filmmaking.

Furthermore, we determine the political and social context from 1980s up to date, i.e., after policies established by the European Union were introduced to the African filmmaking industry. During the 1980's crucial changes took place in the field of African filmmaking. The mainly militant anti-colonial film gave way to more diversified approaches, in which the individual played an increasingly important role or a less critical, renewed approach to tradition was a major trait. A new wave of African filmmakers after O. Sembène shifted away from a former necessary radicalism, expressing the ideals of the African countries' revolution in the 1960s. During this period, African film production became more complex geographically, varied in approaches to making films, thematic richness and complexity. Stories and subjects that fit contemporary Africa and reflect a new need of Africans to own their own images and to tell their own stories is predominant. Despite these trends, African directors are still forced to deal with the neo-colonial legacy: financial, social and political problems when trying to raise sufficient funds for their films.

Furthermore, in the Chapter 2 we define the most recent European Union funding programmes: ACP Film Programme, Media Mundus and Culture Auction Floor with a brief analysis of such aspects as their objectives, selection criteria, guidelines and scope. We consider different contexts of production in African film and its relation to distinct national and international policies, determining the diverse situations inherited from the colonial structures, with a special emphasis on the Francophone and Anglophone case, as these provide us with contrasting examples. While the first was traditionally dependent on French funding and thus also on France's cultural policies in what concerns the role of a film, and the idea of an auteur cinema, Anglophone countries, while lacking funding developed more independent strategies. These has been recently revolutionized by new technologies, such as video and the Internet, as the case of Nigeria and South Africa, and also, to a certain extent Kenya, seem to show.

This part also addresses issues related to current EU policies regarding African cinema, as well as the main reasons why African filmmakers need to seek for funds in the EU institutions, namely the fact that most African governments do not have strong film funding policies. A key issue for African countries is the access to international markets for their cultural products and services. This also explains the role of EU policies in this area, as it is the biggest aid donor in the world.

The Chapter 3 on authenticity of African cinema serves the purpose of considering definitions of the African cinema. Dependency on funds may also determine the production and even the vision of film directors. Therefore, one chapter of this thesis is devoted to the idea of authenticity or 'Africanness' as a concept that may be more dependent on European funding than on the directors' understanding of their own work. We provide various scholarly interpretations of the definition of the African cinema. Also, we analyze more thoroughly the major criticisms regarding the possibility to remain faithful to the filmmakers' cinematic visions when applying for funding from the European agencies. After briefly considering debates in the field, the thesis considers how these definitions affect EU support to the African cinema.

One of the major criticism towards the EU funding bodies has been that in order to receive funding, filmmakers have to conform to specific norms and expectations, such as a European notion of 'Africanness' or 'African authenticity' thus sacrificing their own creative visions. Scholars such as M. Diawara (1987), N.F. Ukadike (2002) and D. Murphy (2000) addressed their concerns regarding the notion of authenticity of the African film when it comes to

applying for funds in the European institutions. Also, there is a major concern coming from African film directors regarding the possibility of staying true to their vision because of the influence placed by the foreign funders. From the feedback of analyzed African filmmakers, one can conclude that European support to the African cinema ignores the interests of the filmmakers and African audiences. However, some of the filmmakers refuse to admit the foundation for adopting such an inflexible stance; they are convinced that a filmmaker can compromise a bit in respect to funding or coproduction requests.

The reference to the Pan-African Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou in the Chapter 4 enables us to determine practical aspects of the issues that encapsulate major controversies around European involvement in this major African film festival in the African continent. The chapter on FESPACO reflects both positive and negative outcomes attached to the European support to the festival. Theoretical and practical stances of filmmakers and film scholars regarding the festival referred to in this chapter make a contribution to our understanding of the realities of the festival. On the one hand, it is being criticized for the still predominant French influence; but, on the other hand, it is recognized for promoting African cinema in Africa.

By referring to the Nigerian filmmaking industry Nollywood in the Chapter 5 we intend to emphasize that cinema has been developing in Africa without any foreign support. Almost any discourse on contemporary African filmmaking cannot do without looking at the Nollywood film industry. European Union programmes aim to contribute to the strengthening of African cinema industries. Nigerian Nollywood as well as Kenyan Riverwood have defied the idea that European intervention is an obligatory component for developing an African cinema industry. Reference to the Nollywood and the Riverwood aims to question the view that Africans cannot create films without European support. African films that receive international attention are usually the ones supported by Europeans and are of the type that is shown in FESPACO. However, the phenomenon of Nollywood and Riverwood serve as opposition to the usually unjustified statement that there is no independent African cinema. On the contrary, as a fully independent industry, Nollywood is not looking for support in the EU. It proves that Africans are capable of creating their own industries. Whereas, the EU tends to invest in African films which may be promoted in academic environments, festivals and, usually, outside of Africa.

Finally case study on Kenya in the Chapter 6 is specifically concerned with the effect of the ACP Film Support Programme to the Kenyan filmmaking industry. The results reveal that the

European partners managed the application process, selecting the script, controlling the marketing, exhibition and distribution. *The Captain of Nakara* B. Nyanja, Kenya, (2012), was broadcasted abroad while Kenyan audience did not have a chance to watch it on the big screen. The study of a Kenyan case focuses on B. Nyanja's film *The Captain of Nakara* (2012) in order to get a practical insight into the production and postproduction aspects of the film.

Trough this case-study we intended to achieve more precise and sustained answers to the debate as to whether the European Union's support programmes have been contributing significantly to the development of the Kenyan film industry. Based on interviews with the stakeholders of the film, this Chapter examines the most common criticisms regarding the European support granted to African cinema. Crucial information is gathered from personal interviews with the Kenyan filmmakers, script-writers, film festival organizers and it reflects on their practical experiences when working with the European funding bodies. Based on the interviews, this chapter considers possible gaps between the Kenyan creative teams and film producers and their European counterparts when working on a film production as well as post-production.

Furthermore, feedback from the participants of Babylon Film International showcase positive aspects of a variety of foreign funding that Africa is exposed to. Babylon Film International EU confirms the positive feedback from Kenyan filmmakers who were granted script development training. It demonstrated that the European Union is actually diversifying its support and is contributing to such important aspects of the African filmmaking industry development as training film professionals. Moreover, independent filmmaker J. Mutune's case denied the old rooted perception of the African filmmakers being in a need of European goodwill for their films' production. Rather, it demonstrated a new trend of African filmmakers' capacity to create independently of foreign funding, thus suggesting the need to rethink the current patterns in European-African cooperation in the field of filmmaking.

The independent film *Leo* (2012) J. Mutune, Kenya, reveals a different attitude towards searching for funds in foreign institutions. Since the colonial times, Europeans have been following the idea that Africans need assistance in creating their own stories. However, a new generation of African filmmakers has risen opposing this outdated patronizing tendency. After four years of hard work of raising funds locally and internationally, the filmmaker released her first feature film *Leo* (2012). These young and energetic Kenyan filmmakers are trying to break away from the generalized and stereotypical beliefs about Kenya, its potential, realities

and people. Their hard work and determination is in fair opposition to those filmmakers who complain about the foreign funding bodies, but years after years return applying there.

With the reference to the results of this research, it can be argued that remaining authentic was not the main issue of the European-African filmmaking encounter. The key shortcomings in the recent European Union policies we identified include such aspects as the application process, selection criteria, follow-up of the project, marketing, distribution, assurance of equal partnership between Kenyan and European creative team. However, our findings also show a positive impact on African filmmakers' careers. Equally important is the fact that we cannot deny the Kenyan low-budget filmmaking industry, Riverwood emerging as a vibrant Kenyan low-budget industry that suggests that the European Union perceives Africans as capable artists and potential partners and the Riverwood industry as a possible investment opportunity. Also, we witnessed a new generation of Kenyan filmmakers that embrace persistence, and search for alternative ways for the EU funding, highlighting that they seek equal partnership from the European Union.

In conclusion, one can only wonder if there would be the same amount of criticism if there was no European funding coming. Nevertheless, for the current European Union's support programmes we suggest to consider some aspects that could improve the quality of support programmes and impact the development of African filmmaking industries. This thesis argues that for the funding to be efficient, the recipient's feedback should be a crucial aspect in defining the lessons learned, and strive for improvement.

Also, important condition of funding allocation should be guaranteeing a fair and equally acceptable application process. A more effective dialogue and mutually agreed definitions need to be established between the European funding bodies and African filmmakers. Marketing, distribution and broadcasting of funded African films, first of all, should take place in Africa.

If the European Union is genuinely interested in equal partnerships in the field of Africa-Europe filmmaking, then film funding policies need to make films and filmmaking accessible to more Africans so that they can develop their filmmaking industries. The question remains if the EU will still look at the Africans as people in need or as potential partners. It is up to European policies' developers to decide if they are willing to act together in a framework of mutual benefit. Thus, the partnership between European and African cinemas will need to be continuously examined; attempting to search for solutions for a genuine and viable relationship could be developed in terms of Africa-Europe filmmaking. These are the issues

that the EU policy makers should address if they are sincerely interested in enhancing African film industries.

1. Historical Context

1.1. Film During the Colonial Era

Before considering current European policies towards African cinema it is important to analyze how the colonial past may still influence current European policies in regard to the support to African cinema. It is also necessary to understand the historical context in which it emerged. However, it is also important to consider in a critical manner what has changed in the relations between Europe and Africa after colonial times. If during the colonial era cinema served as a tool for transmitting Western ideology and values, are echoes of these colonial attitudes still to be found today? It is important to understand to what degree images of a 'backward' or an 'authentic' Africa, as presented during colonial times, still prevail nowadays.

Moreover, one has also to consider how far colonialism and its attempts to control such representations of Africa and the Africans determined colonial policies towards film and the way in which these influenced not only funding policies after independence, but may also be present in the EU cooperation measures. With this in mind, one has also to address the question of how free African filmmakers are nowadays to represent in their films what they want when seeking funds in the EU. Feedback from some African filmmakers that received European aid for their films will be analyzed in more detail in the further chapters.

Before the war, colonialists framed Africans as stable, even inert, wards in need of protection and guidance. After the war, Africans needed to imagine themselves with quite different qualities: as potential partners capable of rapid development (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:95). However, Africa had remained in European minds as exotic, dangerous and primitive. "Colonial films showed Africans' ostensible innate primitive nature that challenged Western adventurers" (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:96). The African continent was perceived as a dangerous place that needed to be controlled. "Good African figures were rare, colonial cinema celebrated the white heroes who braved the dangerous landscape and its hostile inhabitants to impose order and save the natives from their own vices; when Africans, fighting these same battles did appear they were almost always dependent inferiors, often servants, incidental to the main drama of old Africa confronting the modern (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:96). In the colonialists' perspective Africans were passive, backward and not willing to progress.

One could highlight the most common attributes of filmmaking during colonial times. It was predicated on ideas both about cinema "as a symbol of technological modernity that embodied

and projected colonial authority and relatedly its persuasive power over unsophisticated populations” (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:3).”Film was complexly implicated in the effort to preserve and to protect colonial order” (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:7).

However, this thesis includes only a brief historical review considering that the main objective is to focus on current European policies towards African cinema and the Kenyan one in particular. It is also important to consider in a critical manner what has changed in the relations between Europe and Africa after colonial times. If during the colonial era cinema served as a tool for transmitting Western ideology and values, are echoes of these colonial attitudes still to be found today? It is important to understand to what degree images of a ‘backward’ or an ‘authentic’ Africa as presented during colonial times prevail nowadays.

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“Colonial governments harnessed film to institutional and pedagogical function by putting media to work to shape the attitudes and conduct of populations to sustain colonial government order” (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:2). In colonial films Africa was frequently associated with primitivism, its diversity was homogenized (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:2). Bearing this in mind, one has also to consider the distinct trajectories in different colonialisms’ cultures towards the image and film. Therefore in what follows I will address the concrete situation in Francophone, Lusophone, and Anglophone Africa in relation to the distinct colonial pasts, with a special emphasis on the latter as it relates more directly to the Kenyan situation which will be analysed in a more detailed way.

When one considers the history of African cinema, an important part is constituted by film production in Francophone Africa, something which may be explained by French policies towards film. The French Film Bureau, which was created in 1933, provided the technical and financial assistance which made Francophone Africa the most productive centre of black African cinema (Andrade-Watkins, 1993:2). However, unlike British and Belgians who had colonial African film units, France had no production policy specifically intended for their subjects in Africa (Diawara, 1992:22). There was no cinema prior to the independence of

Sub-Saharan African countries (Andrade-Watkins, 1993:2), but by the year 1975 over 185 short films had been produced with the technical assistance of the French Film Bureau (Andrade-Watkins, 1993:2). “As a result, eighty per cent of all black African films were being made by Francophone Africans” (Andrade -Watkins, 1993:3). The fact that Ousmane Sembène, a filmmaker from Senegal is considered as the father of African cinema is also proof of Francophone film dominance.

The only decision made by France concerning film in the colony was the implementation in 1934s of a law called “Decret Laval” (Murphy, 2000:5). Its purpose was to control the contents of films that were shot in Africa and to minimize the creative roles played by Africans in their making (Diawara, 1992:22). It also showed France’s determination to keep cinema from playing a revolutionary and/or evolutionary role in Africa (Diawara, 1992:22). In 1955, however, Paulin Soumanou Vieyra - originally from Benin, but educated in Senegal - directed a film in Paris named *Afrique sur Seine* (1955) (Murphy, 2000:5). P.S. Vieyra had been trained at the Institut des Hautes Études Cinématographiques in Paris and, in spite of the ban on filmmaking in Africa, was granted permission to make a film in France (Murphy, 2000:5). *Afrique sur Seine* explores the difficulties of being an African in France during the 1950s and is considered to be the first film directed by a black African. Before the independence of African countries, only a few films had criticized the colonial regime examples include *Les Statues Meurent Aussi*, France (1953) by Chris Marker and Alain Resnais and most importantly for this context *Afrique 50* by René Vautier, images of which were used by Vyeira in his film, as he had not been allowed to film in Africa. Both films were banned by the French for several years.

Another important filmmaker during the colonial era was the French ethnographic director Jean Rouch. With films like *Jaguar* , France (1967), *Les mai 3*, France (1955), *Moi, un noir*, France (1958), and *La Pyramide humaine*, France (1959), amongst others, Rouch made documentaries that were not explicitly anti-colonial, but which challenged many received notions about colonial Africa and gave a new voice to Africans through film (Mhando, 2010:9).

Turning to Anglophone African countries, there were various ways in which film captured and projected colonial discourse. In most of the instances, cinema was part of colonial policy. According to N.F. Ukadike (1994) “colonial cinema distorted African life and culture” (Ukadike, 1994:81). Certainly, “these films misrepresented Africans to Europeans portraying indigenous people as naïve and barbarous, who however were loyal and grateful to the

Europeans for coming to guide and protect them” (Ukadike , 1994:87). “In colonial eyes, Africa was a vast continent of savage peoples, riddled with superstition and fanaticism” (Ukadike, 1994:85). D. Murphy and P. Williams (2010) claim that “colonial governments' attitudes to Africans and film, with their heady mix of paternalism and paranoia, were shared by missionaries¹ and commercial companies” (Murphy/Williams, 2010:13). In colonial times Africa was represented only by Western filmmakers, including Hollywood. Among the earliest of the works figure *The Wooing and Wedding of a Coon* (1908), W. N. Selig, USA. The continent was portrayed as an exotic land without history, traditions nor culture. Examples of this kind of cinema also include such films as *Tarzan of the Apes* (1918), S. Sidney, USA, *The African Queen* (1951), J. Huston, UK/USA and *Kings Solomon's Mines* (1937), R. Stevenson, UK. All of these films confirmed colonialist stereotypes of Africans and Africa's culture among European and thereby “contributed towards the ideological justification of the colonial enterprise” (Murphy/Williams, 2010:62).

The British Colonial Film Unit's function was to strengthen the links between Britain and its colonies by awakening the interest of the British public, and showing the colonial people that the British were really concerned with their problems and their development (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:139). The objective of the Colonial Film Unit, so it was argued, was mass education, the development of self-reliance and to oppose traditions so that the seeds of progress in health, industry and agriculture could be planted, thereby confirming the legitimacy of British presence in the colonies (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:96).

However, British colonialists had failed to understand African life and traditions. The Colonial Film Unit treated everything African as superstitious and backward (Diawara, 1992:7). “With these paternalistic and racist attitudes” the British never adequately trained Africans to handle their own film production (Diawara, 1992:7). Obviously, if the colonies could make their own films, the colonials would no longer be needed for this form of national expression (Diawara, 1992:4). Films made by the Colonial Film Unit never attracted African audiences because they could not identify with them (Diawara, 1992:3). In 1949 the famous Scottish documentary filmmaker John Grierson in his report to UNESCO stated that “this problem could be resolved not by projecting films from the West in the colonies, but by colonial people making films inside the colonies for themselves” (Diawara, 1992:3).

¹ These Christian missions were established as part of the colonial drive. Also, missionaries utilized cinema as religious propaganda in African countries.

Wildlife films were significant part of the imagery produced, but at the same time Africa was still presented as a continent of mud-huts and mumbo-jumbo² (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:237). *Where No Vultures Fly*, by A. Steel, D. Sheridan, H. Warrender, UK (1951), *Men of Two Words*, T. Dickson, UK (1946), *Simba*, B. D. Hurst, UK, (1995), *Safari*, T. Young, UK (1956). In these films Africans were assigned subordinate roles as poachers and villagers and they said little (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:238). Later films represented African primitivism, chanting and drumming; modernity in these films belonged to the British (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:238). For instance *Simba* sets the white home, family and community against African violence and primitivism (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:241) and showed Africans as domestic inferiors, as ‘houseboys’ or as Mau Mau³ who invade the white homes to ransack, steal and kill (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:241).

In colonial times documentary was undeniably another important aspect for transmitting European advancements and power. “During 1940-1960 in British colonies newsreels or in other words ‘documentaries’ were state produced about economic relationships between the metropolis and the colonies” (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:3). The ‘Mr. Wise’ and ‘Mr. Foolish’ format embodied a pedagogical and paternalistic agenda in these kind of films (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:3). In other words, through the newsreels colonial masters showed the technological advancements and the modernity of Europe to ‘uncivilized’ Africans. The cinematographic industry participated in the “affirmation of the supremacy of the West against the indigenous people and its education according to the Western point of view” (Diawara/Diakhaté, 2011:63). At the same time that cinema was representing Africa to the West; it was used to represent the West to Africa. These types of films were used to promote colonial values, consumer products, and the beauty of local recourses. It also served as a mean for attracting investors and recruiting soldiers (Murphy, 2000:41).

“The most colonialist and paternalist of these projects were undertaken by the British in East Africa and Belgians in Congo” (Murphy/Williams 2010:32). Major L.A. Notcutt, the director of the Bantu Educational Cinema Experiment, a British colonial project producing educational films in East Africa, saw film as a “source of literal illumination for Africans: with backward peoples unable to distinguish between truth and falsehood, it is truly in our wisdom, if not our obvious duty, to prevent as far as possible the dissemination of wrong ideas. “Should we stand by and see distorted presentation of the white race’s life accepted by

² Unintelligible or incomprehensible language

³ Mau Mau is a term used to describe the Kikuyu-dominated groups who fought against British rule in the 1950s for land and political freedom.

millions of Africans when we have it in our power to show them the truth” (quoted in Murphy/Williams, 2010:43). That ‘truth’ mainly consisted of films about farming and modern European ways of treating various diseases in Africa. Similarly, Diawara (1987) states that “The Bantu Educational Film Experiment and the Colonial Film Unit in East Africa was in many ways paternalistic and racist” (Diawara, 1987:10). This can be proven by the fact that they African people were seen as too primitive to understand complex films; therefore the colonial authorities produced simplified educationalist ones. “And this ideology prevented the British filmmakers from seeing the obvious: their films were boring and clumsy” (Diawara, 1987:10). Notwithstanding the flaws of the Bantu Educational Cinema Experiment, L.A. Notcutt realized that he could reduce film production costs by using local personnel. M. Diawara notices that “this fact is even more significant and ironic when we compare the conditions of the production that prevail now in Africa” (Diawara, 1992:2).

Sean Graham, the head of the Gold Coast Film Unit, which functioned mainly in West Africa, realized the importance of films for the government: “in an illiterate society films are the only means government has of speaking to the people with authority and understanding (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:146). In the production of the films in British colonies, the directors and writers were predominantly European. It is interesting to note that Sean Graham complained that the European writers and filmmakers brought out to assist the Gold Coast Film Unit did not understand the local culture (Grieverson/ MacCabe, 2011:146). The director of the Unit emphasized that the understanding of local culture should be the prerequisite for this work, but this was certainly not always the case as the Unit continued to import European personnel on short-term contracts (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:146).

In sum, colonial film ignored African cultural and social sensitivities. Africans were depicted as the passive beneficiaries of colonial peace and European technology, and economic initiative (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:225). Films showed that Britain was developing poor countries rather than exploiting them (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:229). The films also contributed to deepening the traditional European perception of Africa as backward. Representing Africa in poverty was a technique engaged to sell developmental colonialism to the metropolitan taxpayer (Grieverson /MacCabe, 2011:223). Nigerian journalist and film critic J. Kayinda Vaughan criticized the Colonial Film Unit by saying that: “yet another film Unit came to depict us as naked savages and unfit to rule ourselves; the black man’s role is to be patronized, unfitted and governed” (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:161).

In the late 1950s the Colonial Film Unit stepped away from financing film production and it changed the name into the Overseas Film and Television Centre (Diawara, 1992:4). However, dependency was secured by selling film equipment and doing post-production for African films (Diawara, 1992:4). “The authority of the metropolis continued behind the fictions of decentralized partnership” (Diawara, 1992:7). “This transformation was accompanied by a newly urgent rhetoric of ‘development’ that sought to reorientate conceptions of the colonial rule towards more benign sense of trusteeship and partnership” (Diawara, 1992:8). Also, it is interesting to note that, for instance, the term ‘mass education’ was replaced after the war by ‘community development’ with the UNESCO preferring ‘fundamental education’. The latter definition was thought to have unfortunate political resonance hinting at an ‘inferior kind of education specially designed for primitive peoples (Grievesson/ MacCabe, 2011:160).

When talking about colonial cinema, it is necessary to mention mobile cinema which was one of the colonial governments’ mechanisms for disseminating educational messages to the colonized. Mobile cinema in Kenya was established by the Colonial Film Unit with the mission of “producing and distributing didactic films” (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:199). Mobile cinema “represented an important opportunity to build and support the colonial regime” (Grievesson/MacCabe 2011:200). Mobile cinema in Kenya functioned as a form of performance of modern colonial power, and a kind of ritual of state power that started with film itself as the embodiment of technological modernity that colonial power claimed for itself (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:9).

“From 1940 to 1950 a small number of official cinema vans made regular circuits across the Kenyan countryside” (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:200). There was little difficulty in attracting people to watch films. “The kids were big fans of Charles Chaplin, women were attracted by welfare and home life pictures” (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011: 201). “Britain took mobile cinema seriously as a tool of propaganda” (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:202). However, “Kenyans were not interested in films’ contents” (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:202). Most of the spectators were wage labourers, more interested in the show itself than in the contents “sometimes showing up to the same film several times” (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:202). A typical programme included various didactic films such as “The Two Brothers”, D. W. Griffith, USA (1939), a film with African actors depicting the dangers of venereal diseases, and also wildlife and war films (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:204). The Colonial Film Unit stressed “the importance of promoting improvements in agriculture and public health” (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:202). Arthur Champion, the manager of mobile cinema in Kenya, took particular pride in the fact that “previously oblivious audiences now understand the

etiquette of standing to attention and removing their hats while playing the National anthem before the cinema starts” (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:203). Although mobile cinema became popular, only documentaries or dated films were shown. In addition, mobile cinema aimed to reinforce colonial power in times of “increasingly aggressive anti-colonialism” (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:204).

The set up of mobile cinema consisted of white settlers driving through the Kenya countryside showing to local people British films with the objective of educating them and expressing their superiority. People crowded to see the “magic of motion technology, brought to them by agents of British colonialism to illuminate the screen and to carry them to other worlds” (Grieverson /MacCabe, 2011:205).

Not without a reason little has been mentioned about Lusophone colonial cinema in this chapter. According to C. Andrade-Watkins vestiges of colonial cinema were extremely faint in Portuguese-speaking Africa (Andrade-Watkins, 1999:179). M. Diawara in his book *African Cinema: Politics and Culture* says that the biggest difference between French, British and Portuguese colonial cinema was that the latter “limited its film production to monthly newsreels made for colonialist propaganda” (Diawara, 1992:89). Unlike the French or British, the Portuguese were not interested in African cultures “except to show their inferiority to European cultures” (Diawara, 1992:89). In addition, according to the author the Mozambican cinema was the most important among former Portuguese colonies and it also “embodies the experiences of such international directors as Ruy Guerra, Jean Rouch and Jean-Luc Godard (Diawara, 1992:89).

According to the analysis of colonial film by L. Grieverson and C. MacCabe (2011), the evidence seems to be strong that for the colonial zone of the world to be viewed, investigated, and experienced was to be ‘represented’ as the so-called ‘authentic’ expressions of primitive cultures (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:277). It was to be visible to the colonial gaze, to affirm the ‘domestication’ of the colonial world and reaffirm the colonial powers’ right to rule (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:277). In most of these films Africans were portrayed as diseased and unclean bodies, and Africa a place of untamed nature. According to L. Grieverson and C. MacCabe (2011) colonial empires have constructed various forms of rule today and the indications are therefore that these images of Africa and Africans prevail today and work to justify an “imperial project of humanitarianism in the 21st century”(Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:277). Can we still hear the echo of paternalistic voice when supporting African cinema? M. Diawara and L. Diakhaté (2011) posit that ages pass but Africa remains the place where

Europeans continue their mission (Diawara/Diakhaté 2011). “Today’s humanitarians substitute missionaries of yesterday” (Diawara M., Diakhaté L. 2011). These authors also argue that the EU decides what the African public should be interested in, and “This situation limits creativity of African cineastes that are funded for making African stories that satisfy Western institutions” (Diawara/Diakhaté, 2011:45).

No doubt that the colonial past cannot be changed and, as J. Kibinge puts it: “whatever the colonialists had brought on their ships and on their trains was here to stay: we could not decolonise the mind as easily or quickly as we thought we could” (Kibinge, 2013:37). However, it would be equally wrong to say that African filmmakers after independence continued to be completely dependent on European goodwill to produce and exhibit their films. The decades after independence marked the start of African filmmakers’ aspiration to create films for African audiences.

1.2.Film during 1960s and 1970s

As discussed in the previous chapter, British colonial film homogenized Africa’s varied and complex histories, cultures and peoples. Introducing a shift of an image of a new and modern Africa in its first half of 1960s, it looked at the way the image of independence within the Commonwealth and of leisure opportunities for whites obscured the loss of imperial power (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:238). Within this shift there were considerable elements of continuity: the production of Africa as a spectacle, the representation of white – black relationships and the reworking of the idea of Africa as a ‘white man’s continent’ (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:238). L. Grieverson and C. MacCabe (2011) rightly pointed out that “decolonization punctured fiction of partnership and development” (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:8). In other words, after African countries’ independence, rigorous colonial policies were partially replaced by partnership relations. However, as it will become clear, there were former colonial masters who benefited more from these partnerships. African countries started their film production; however, they continued to be dependent on the Europeans’ goodwill to finance their films. Earlier colonial films had depicted modernity as a gift bestowed by the British on Africa. Travelogues made in 1960s showed Africa as a tourist attraction homogenizing the continent (Grieverson/ MacCabe, 2011:238). However, in travelogues it is white tourists not Africans who are beneficiaries of African modernity. As well as visiting safari parks and beaches, they enjoyed facilities on offer: Africans served them drinks, chauffeured them around in cars and steered them in catamarans (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:239). African performance, particularly dancing, was a recurrent image in newsreels as

well as travelogues, offering one of the many spectacles within spectacles; British audiences watching tourists or the royal family in Africa watching Africans (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:246). Most of the Africans did not have speaking parts, and served as exotic background to the story about the whites (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:247).

In 1960's most of the films on Africa "gestured at a liberal perspective, offering a vision of African with moral overtones, but one that drew images obscuring African diversity" (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:241). British cameras neglected urban Africa in favour of the rural and the spectacle of the wildlife (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:241). Their focus was on an Africa for Europeans; there were few roles for Africans. They were subordinate figures serving the British, 'houseboys', askari⁴, witchdoctors, porters uttering mumbo-jumbo (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:241). As extras, they contributed to the spectacle through drumming, dancing, chants and songs. Modernity was shown as a gift bestowed by the British through modernizing and welfare projects on Africa that was still 'backward' (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:249).

In 1960's much of this continued. As decolonization gathered pace, British cameras were also active in reworking imagery of Africa (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:241). Newsreels and travelogues proclaimed a 'new Africa' (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:242). They produced a vision of Africa as an alluring holiday destination, tamed for the benefit of tourists who could easily photograph wildlife from cars (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:249). Travelogues and newsreels reworked the idea of Africa as a white man's continent. They depicted whites as beneficiaries of African modernity (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:238). Films showed the British still influencing, if not ruling (Grievesson/MacCabe, 2011:238).

African filmmaking is in a way a child of African political independence" (Ukadike, 1994:43). It emerged during the years of anti-colonial struggle and it has been undergoing a process of slow development in the postcolonial years. N. F. Ukadike (2002) states that "West Africa is advanced in film production because of France" (Ukadike, 2002:23). France tried to encourage Francophone African filmmakers to create films. With this condition France stayed behind the ideas and the production. Furthermore, the French used Francophone African directors to make films that promoted French culture and influence. N. F. Ukadike (2002) states that if one makes a film in French language it is a success for France (Ukadike, 2002:54). In other words French support to African cinema includes various conditionalities

⁴ Translated from Kiswahili – warrior

one of them being the French language. To succeed African filmmakers were bound indirectly to use French instead of their indigenous languages.

As mentioned before, most scholars divide African cinema's history into two periods: colonial and post-colonial. This period between the 1960's and the 1970's marks important developments in terms of African cinema, and Europe's position in relation to Africa. African countries won independence and African filmmakers aspired to create a cinema for African audiences. However, no matter how strong these aspirations were, filmmakers ended up facing financial problems trying to accomplish their cinema projects. The continent was lacking cinema production facilities. Therefore these and other financial problems forced filmmakers to wait years until they were able to complete a film.

As already outlined, before, most of the African countries gained independence in 1960s, there was no African cinema directed and produced by Africans for Africans and in African languages. Only French, English and American filmmakers were creating films about Africa. After independence, European countries maintained their interest in keeping cooperation and exchange relations with their ex-colonies. Evidently, this was done to ensure European countries' presence and influence in their former colonies. M. Diawara (1987) in his article about African film production and technological paternalism posits that: "fundamentally, African cinema did not exist because film distribution was not in Africa's hands" (Diawara, 1987:61). More precisely, the main characteristic of African films during 1960's and 1970's can be defined through following aspects:

1. They were emulating "art cinema" of contemporary European cinema.
2. They were mostly made in francophone African countries.
3. Their production depended on external aid.

This period of independence was marked by a wake of Third World intellectuals represented by such figures as Frantz Fanon and Che Guevara. An alternative to Hollywood and European auteur cinema emerged through Solana's and Getino's notion of Third Cinema (1969) and by Julio Garcia Espinosa's manifesto "For an Imperfect Cinema" (1969) and declarations from Third World Film Festivals calling for a 'tricontinental' (Latin America, Africa and Caribbean) revolution in a film form (Guneratne/Dissanayake 2003:30). The main attributes of third-worldists' filmmaking as A.R. Guneratne and W. Dissanayake put it were: 'hungry cinema' or 'sad, ugly films', militant guerilla documentaries and 'imperfect cinema' where the process of communication was more important than the product and where political values were more important than production values (Guneratne/Dissanayake 2003:32). In addition,

third worldists' films stressed "literal, political, metaphoric and aesthetic anti-colonial violence" (Guneratne/Dissanayake 2003:33). The main objective was to use film to represent to the people their own lives, to show the reasons why they were treated in particular ways, to show them the reasons of their oppression and how people could liberate themselves from these conditions (Guneratne/Dissanayake, 2003:34)

As already mentioned, 'African Cinema' began in the 1960s as a body of work mostly funded by the French-controlled Bureau of African Cinema, which financed about two-thirds of the sub-Saharan African films made until 1980 (Diawara, 1992:26). African filmmakers complained that this meant that the French had editorial power to select what they wanted and often hired French editors to cut the films (Diawara, 1992:26). In 1963 the Bureau of Cinema at the Cooperation was created with the goal to provide independent African filmmakers with the opportunity to create films (Diawara, 1992:25). The Bureau could act either as a producer of a film and provide the African director with the financial and technical support; or the Cooperation could wait until the independent director made the film and pay the cost of the production in return for the distribution rights (Diawara, 1992:26).

An equally significant aspect of this epoch was the work of such filmmakers as Med Hondo, Mahama J. Traore and, most importantly, Ousmane Sembène. He was one of the first African voices whose aim was to prove that there is an Africa that cannot be reduced to the Europeans' representation of the continent. This filmmaker denied that Africa is primitive and without culture. Sembène's films intended to contradict the view of the continent created by Europeans providing the world with an alternative image of Africa. He was a major figure in the rise of an independent postcolonial African cinema. According to M. Diawara and L. Diakhate (2011) he was one of the first African filmmakers who started to question "Eurocentric aesthetics and humanitarian discourse imposed by Eurocentrism to African cinema" (Diawara/Robinson, 1988:21). Sembène aimed to find different from colonial times Africa - liberated "from a simplified, ethnographic and scientific approach of African identity created by colonizers through centuries" (Diawara/Robinson, 1988:21). Sembène had been recognized as "the father of African cinema" and received countless awards and distinctions (Diawara/Diakhaté 2011:29). His work aimed to promote freedom, social justice, and to restore pride and dignity to African people. To reach such a goal, Sembène used the Wolof language in his films. The emphasis on language allowed him to specify his public: "Africa is my 'audience' while the West and the 'rest' are only targeted as 'markets' (Diawara/Diakhaté, 2011:30). Also, Third-World' ideologies influenced Sembène's work. O. Sembène with his films tried to clear away 'colonial mythologies' – the powerful hegemonic effects produced

by colonial countries that, as mentioned earlier, were scattered on a large scale through Hollywood and popular Western films (Guneratne/Dissanayake, 2003:26) One of his earliest works *La Noire de...*, Senegal (1966) dismantled colonial fantasies that Africans were trapped in. The film main character is a young African girl with illusions and high expectations towards Europe. However, once there she is faced with a harsh reality and finally commits suicide. Sembène's objectives corresponded to the ideologies of third-worldists by willing to reveal the colonial fantasies that seduced the minds of colonised Africans and showing them that their conditions in Europe were horrifying and inhumane.

Furthermore, in 1960's the Pan-Africanist movement also influenced African cinema. Pan-Africanism shared a sense of a broadly conceived African identity and was indispensable for a true independence of the continent. The followers of this ideology were trying to deny national boundaries imposed by European colonisers. The coalition of all African filmmakers FEPACI, the Pan African Federation of filmmakers, devoted its efforts to the advocacy of pan-African aspirations. During this epoch African filmmakers took over pan-Africanism ideas and "desired to define Africa against the unified West and search of African self, a genuine anxiety over a lost history and a threatened identity" (Tcheuyap, 2011:10). Cinema seemed an ideal medium to spread a pan-African discourse that would engage the entire continent as well as diaspora. (MacCall, 2010:95). Filmmakers turned into deeper exploration of social problems: traditional culture versus Western influence (Ukadike, 1994:84). Pan-Africanism called for the rearticulation of an African history distorted by colonial ideologies. One such protest of historical value was registered by I. Ousseini in the film *La sage sue...*, Niger (1970), where he expressed his contempt for films made by Europeans about Africans during colonial times.

Yet again in the 1960s and the 1970s Anglophone African countries were still producing fewer films compared with Francophone African countries. M. Diawara (1987) says that: "it comes from the fact that the British did not have an assimilationist policy towards their colonies, unlike the French, who taught about their French ancestors to Africans" (Diawara, 1987:6). British colonialism, according to M. Diawara (1987), seemed "strictly business and never succeeded at or tried assimilation, which was linked to French economic colonialism" (Diawara, 1987:17).

The 1970's also mark other important events in African cinema. In 1969, FESPACO the first Pan-African film festival was created in Burkina Faso, which now takes place every two years. The Federation of African Filmmakers (FEPACI) was also created in 1969 in order to

focus attention on the promotion of African film industries in terms of production, distribution and exhibition.

FEPACI is important in understanding the development of African film in general. As discussed earlier even after gaining independence, African countries continued to be dependent on Western distributors of their films. For instance a classic such as *La noir de ...*, O. Sembène, Senegal (1966) was never shown in the country of the filmmaker. FESPACI was committed to the notion of pan-Africanism and believed that their mission was to unite and use film as a tool for liberation of colonized countries as a step towards the total unity of Africa (Diawara, 1992:39). It also sought to fight European and American monopoly in film distribution and exhibition and encourage the creation of national cinemas. Filmmakers were encouraged by FESPACI to use films to denounce the alienation of countries that were politically independent but culturally and economically still dependent on the West (Diawara, 1992:40). FESPACO was recognized by UNESCO and it increased its membership to 39 countries in the beginning of 1970's.

Since this work aims to focus on the recent European Union support programmes to African cinema, the Kenyan case in particular, the Lusophone African cinema's development and the EU support to it will not be an area of main interest in this work. However, major developments in Lusophone African cinema and its relation with former Portuguese colonial master deserve some attention. Moreover, according to the graphs in the 4th Chapter of this work, Graph Number 1 and Graph Number 2 from the 8th to 10th European Development Funds in terms of linguistic distribution, Lusophone African countries received less financial support to their cinematic projects compared to Francophone and Anglophone countries. In addition, the EU member state Portugal cannot be compared to other EU member states such as the United Kingdom or France in terms of their financial contribution to the tenth European Development Fund (see the Graph Number 1 in the Chapter 4 and Annex Number 2).

C. Andrade-Watkins' article "Portuguese African Cinema: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives 1969-1993" (1999) makes an important contribution to understand the main attributes of Lusophone African cinema between the 1960s and 1990 focusing on Mozambique, while also mentioning the main distinctive aspects of Portuguese colonialism. Lusophone Africa and Mozambique in particular occupy a small, but, according to C. Andrade-Watkins, a vital chapter of the extant body of Sub-Saharan Africa and World cinema (C. Andrade-Watkins, 1999:200). At the end of the Portuguese colonial regime there were neither production facilities nor technicians that the independent African Lusophone countries

could inherit. As M. Diawara noted “not one Mozambican filmmaker existed” (Diawara, 1992:89). Mozambique gained independence in 1975 and the new state leader Samora Machel created the Institute of National Cinema (INC), a film production unit working on newsreels and documentaries inviting the Mozambicans to embrace freedom. This type of filmmaking gained a name of “Guerilla Cinema” inspired by Third World cinema. Cinemas were built and mobile ones travelled through the country inspiring the nation to embrace the revolution (Adrade-Watkins, 1999:179).

In contrast to former British and French colonies, Mozambique’s cinema was supported and influenced not by Portugal, but by Latin America and other European filmmakers, such as Ruy Guerra (Brazil), Jean Rouch (France), and Jean-Luc Godard (France). During the period between 1969 and 1975 Lusophone African cinema was also influenced by the liberation movements and the launching of the Institute of Cinema of Mozambique. The reasons behind the creation of the National Film Institute were the decolonization of cinema, the creation of national films and their distribution in Mozambique and outside the country (Diawara, 1992:93). In terms of production Mozambique in 1975 had neither filmmakers nor production facilities. Therefore, foreign film directors were working in the country. The work of the Film Institute could be distinguished in several ways. Firstly, in 1978 the Brazilian filmmaker R. Guerra became the director of the Institute and began the production of monthly newsreels called *Kuxa Kenema* (Birth of the Image). They were different from the newsreels of the colonial times because they analyzed subjects in depth, instead of covering superficially several topics at the same time (Diawara, 1992:95). In 1979 R. Guerra made the first Mozambican feature film *Mueda: memória e massacre*. In 1978 Rouch, D’Arthuys, and R. Guerra came up with the project called Super 8 between France and Mozambique. France did not want to be called a neo-colonialist country in the same manner as it had been called by many Francophone African countries. The project aimed to inform the people about literacy campaigns, the proper use of agricultural equipment, health education, transportation and culture (Diawara, 1992:95).

In Angola, on the other hand, film production dropped significantly after independence due to non-existent production infrastructures. Unlike Mozambique, Angola never developed a national centre or infrastructure for cinema. After independence Ruy Duarte Carvalho and António Ole produced various documentaries through national TV that was established in 1975 (Adrade-Watkins, 1999:191).

According to D. Murphy and P. Williams, the reason behind the lack of the films during the colonial era in the Portuguese colonies compared to French or British colonies was firstly the economical situation of Portugal (Murphy/Williams, 2010:132). Guinea-Bissau, like other former Portuguese colonies, did not have either significant cultural nor financial influence from Portugal during colonial times. The film industry that was established immediately after independence in 1974 remained a state's enterprise (Ukadike, 2002:102). Being underfunded itself, the government oversaw the production of films in the country. Facing the national reality the state could not give priority to the cinema, especially to the production of entertainment films (Ukadike, 2002:102). However it is important to highlight a filmmaker Flora Gomes who left Guinea-Bissau for Cuba to study Film at the Cuban Institute of Art and Cinematography. In 1987, Gomes made his first feature film (It was Guinea-Bissau's first fictional feature length film) *Mortu Nega*. After the film was selected for showing during Critic's Week at the Venice Film Festival Gomes was heralded as a great new voice in African cinema. F. Gomes has gone on to become one of Africa's most internationally well respected filmmakers. His work often deals with questions of history and memory, particularly regarding the national liberation struggle, as well as notions of modernization and the conceptualization of identity (Ferreira, 1974:4).

In sum: the 1960's and 1970's introduced a shift in the images about the continent, aiming to represent a new and modern Africa. Within this shift there were considerable elements of continuity: the production of Africa as a spectacle, the representation of white – black relationships and the reworking of the idea of Africa as a 'white man's continent'. After the African countries' independence, rigorous colonial policies were replaced by partnership relations. Most importantly this era marked the start of African filmmaking: Africans creating films for African audiences, O. Sembène being a major figure in the rise of independent postcolonial African cinema.

1.3.The 1980s and Beyond

The aim of this part is not to present a full analysis of African cinema after the 1980s, but to overlook briefly the main tendencies in African filmmaking and its funding. After the 1970s African cinema became more diverse ideologically and artistically. According to D. Murphy and P. Williams (2010) after 1970's African cinema shifted away from necessary radicalism of Third cinema. In this period African cinema became more complex geographically, varied in approaches of making films, thematic richness and complexity. FEPACI, according to M.

Diawara had lost its importance and had become less effective in African filmmakers' work (Diawara, 2010:120).

As mentioned in the previous chapters, there was no African cinema before African countries' independence. African cinema continued hindered because of the colonial past and, as F. U. Ukadike (1994) says, the "neo-colonial present" (Ukadike, 1994:129). In other words, interests of former colonialists were present in the existence of the desire to control their former colonies' values and perceptions through cultural means, such as cinema, for instance (Diawara, 1987:63).

As M. Diawara points out "the 11th FESPACO in 1989 demonstrated crucial changes in African cinema; it showed how diversified African cinema had become" (Diawara, 1992:150). M. Diawara (1992) distinguished African filming by thematic directions. Firstly, the 'return to the sources' with the work of Souleymane Cissé *Yeelen*, Mali (1987), Idrissa Ouédraogo *Yaaba*, Burkina Faso, (1987) (Diawara, 1992:151) sought to prove the existence of a dynamic African culture and history before European colonisation. Moreover, these films confronted the primitivism and the simple-mindedness that had been projected onto Africans by Eurocentric historians (Diawara, 1992:165). 'Social realist' type films presented an image of Africa that made a claim to be fuller and more faithful to reality. This thematic direction was represented by work of Henri Duparc's *Bal poussière*, Ivory Coast (1998), *Bouka*, by Roger Gnouan M'Bala, Ivory Coast (1988) that were social realist narratives that dealt with the question of modernity and tradition (Diawara, 1992:151). The 'history-confrontation' thematic direction of African filmmaking can be best illustrated by the work of *Mortu Nega* F. Gomes, Guinea Bissau (1988), O. Sembène and T. Sow *Camp de Thiaroye*, Senegal (1998). These films depicted historical confrontation between Africa and Europe. The majority of Africans viewed them with a sense of pride and satisfaction, as a history finally written from an African point of view (Diawara, 1992:152). According to M. Diawara (1992) all these typologies of African filmmaking taken as a whole reflect Africa in quest for social and economic justice (social realist), identity (return to the sources) and history (confrontation) (Diawara, 1992:164). As M. Diawara (2010) puts it "the fact that both S. Cissé and I. Quédraogo received top awards at Cannes was an indication of this new trend in African cinema (Diawara, 2010:96).

According to M. Diawara (2010) the new African filmmakers that followed Sembènè were no longer interested in applying 'oppositional languages' to confront American and European cinemas (Diawara, 2010:94). As M. Diawara (2010) says, the filmmakers after 1980's were

interested in taking their place in international arena of cinema, to renew themselves and their vision of Africa (Diawara, 2010:94). In his later work M. Diawara (2010) points out three more strands in African filmmaking after 1980's: the Arte wave with one of the leading African directors Abderrahmane Sissako; The Guild African Filmmakers, an independent-spirited, pan-African and diasporic strand with Jean Pierre Békolo, Balufu Bakupa-Kanyinda J. el-Tahri, N. Aduaka, J. Akomfrah; and narrative strand with Z. Gamboa, M.S. Wade, C.F. Camara (Diawara, 2010:98).

After the 1980's African cinema introduced the stories that fit contemporary Africa reflecting the need for Africans to own their own images and to tell their own stories. As M. Diawara puts it "Africans wanted be allowed to choose their own heroes, instead of letting Western cinema and media impose heroes on them and define the meaning of their history for them" (Diawara, 2010:129). Therefore with respect to Sembène's pioneering role in African cinema, "they had also realized that their success will depend on harnessing the African themes with new and different film languages" (Diawara, 2010:97).

Yet again, former French colonies still received more support from their former master compared with former British colonies. As mentioned before, this can be justified by the fact that France implemented cultural strategies in their colonies, while Britain was known for following policies of indirect rule. Ghanaian filmmaker K. Ansah interviewed by F. Ukadike's (2002) expressed his contentment concerning this situation: "Anglophone countries must be blessed for not having such 'gracious' support from their colonial master" (Ukadike, 2002:133). This is what makes African Anglophone filmmakers: "original thinkers – independent film thinkers" (Ukadike, 2002:134). As mentioned before, the Bureau of Cinema at the Cultural Cooperation was a dominant aspect of French colonial policy. Therefore, even in the 1980's around 80% of the films in Sub-Saharan Africa were co-produced by France (Diawara/Robinson/Sissoko, 1988:4). According to F. Ukadike (2002), "West Africa was advanced in film production because of France" (Ukadike, 2002:143).

The Bureau of Cinema was perceived as a "neocolonial tool" (Diawara, 1992:130). French production of African films is unchanged economic, political and cultural dependency of African states on France (Diawara, 1992:130). French impressed African filmmakers with dream like opportunities "which they were led to believe were only available in Paris" (Diawara, 1992:130). There was another argument that France's aid to African cinema had made it easier for French distributors to maintain their monopoly in Africa (Diawara, 1992:130). Francophone African filmmakers themselves have been complaining about the

conditions and the ways France has given aid to African film. They have been accused of imposing its own aesthetic views of Africa as a way of judging films (Diawara, 1992:30).

One sees clearly with the above evaluation that “overriding criticism against French aid is its neocolonial aspect” (Diawara, 1992:34). There are two ways of identifying neocolonialism in French film production: one way, according to M. Diawara (1992) was through tracing the extent to which the French have tried to assimilate African filmmakers, thus making it difficult to stand on their own (Diawara, 1992:34). It is based on selecting a few Africans at the top and giving them the same privileges as to French people; directing films is one of these privileges (Diawara, 1992:34). The other way is French Cooperation’s monopoly of the tools of work of filmmaking by centralizing them in Paris (Diawara, 1992:33). By monopolizing the domain of African film production: financing, technical equipment, technicians, the Cooperation conditions the directors “to conform their scripts to acceptable French cinematographic standards” (Diawara, 1992:35). Those film directors who had the Bureau of Cinema Cooperation as the producer of their films, had French readers in mind while they wrote their scripts (Diawara, 1992:33). Cooperation controls impact of African films by buying rights and distributing them. This is why one can draw conclusions that Cooperation had intentions for African filmmaking to continue being dependent on France. M. Diawara (1992) characterized France of having neocolonial mentality to keep Francophone community which was made of ex-colonized people around France (Diawara, 1992:29).

Francophone predominance in African cinema was discussed earlier in this work. One could question if there is any solution for this French influence. If Africans could create companies to distribute their films, the situation might be different. F. Ukadike (2002:) reminds us that if films are well distributed, it is possible to make profit and to invest in other films. Moreover, he also considers the “quota system”, which means that if Africa consumes a certain number of foreign films, then those foreign countries should show certain amount of African films (Ukadike, 2002:110). S. Cissé argued that the situation could be repaired if the Cooperation reduced its rights by distributing the films only in French embassies and cultural centres in Africa, while pushing for commercial distribution in Europe (Diawara, 1992:133). Nevertheless the policies of cooperation are implemented by European level since the last decade, the French influence continues to be extremely vast when supporting African cinema. However, this work intends to analyze an example of former Anglophone country – Kenya, which is competing with Francophone filmmakers when applying for funds in the EU.

Therefore, practical cases of Kenyan film distribution and exhibition will be analyzed in further chapters.

When talking about support to African cinema, usually it is about Francophone countries. Additionally, even analytic literature covers mostly Francophone Africa's cinema. For example, D. Murphy P. Williams's book about ten postcolonial African directors speaks only about North African and Sub-Saharan African filmmakers. In the 1980s and still today African filmmakers come from all over the continent – but not from Anglophone Africa. At least this is what one might easily assume when reading books on African Cinema. Conversely, we need to be aware of the fact that there are films being produced that are worth seeing in other regions and countries of the African continent. No one can ignore the second biggest film industry in the world. The phenomenon of the Nigerian film industry known as Nollywood and the low-budget feature films coming out of Ghana, and more recently Kenya and South Africa, have proven to be an extremely popular genre.

The only countries in Anglophone Africa that went beyond the government productions to create an independent cinema were Nigeria and Ghana (Diawara 1992:117). In the 1980's Ghanaian film directors such as King Ampaw and Kwaw Ansah replaced the old documentary tradition with feature films that blended comedy and melodrama and drew their themes from popular culture and the meeting between Western and African civilization (Diawara, 1992:118). Filmmakers in Ghana and Nigeria started raising funds for their films at a local and international level. The relative freedom that independent directors had in being their own producers enabled them to make popular films that “were not burdened by didactic and propagandistic precepts imposed by the governments” (Diawara, 1992:119). Nigerian filmmakers pleaded with the government to reduce the entertainment tax for local films so they could compete with Hollywood films and, according to Diawara, that is why individual Nigerian filmmakers could progress in their work (Diawara, 1992:119).

In 1980's Kenya began its interest in feature film production. Two government branches: Kenya Film Commission (KFC) and the Kenya Institute of Mass Communication (KIMC) handled film activities in the country. The KFC deals primarily with distribution of the films that were monopolized by it since 1972 (Diawara, 1992:116). However in late 1990's private local film production and distribution companies have been opening and their performance in Kenyan film industry will be discussed later in this work.

Talking about Lusophone filmmaking in 1980's C. Andrade-Watkins regretted that “those dreams of Film Institute in Mozambique died due to constant instabilities of the film

production distribution” (Andrade-Watkins, 1999:200). Due to the civil war in 1980’s fire devastated the institute and brought an end to national filmmaking in Mozambique. When the peace came back, in 2006, Mozambique held its first documentary film festival called Dokanema, which has gained international recognition.

All in all, in 1960’s cinema in African countries served for expressing convictions of the revolution, while in 1980’s this revolutionary cinema lost relevance. Although African countries gained independence in 1960’s, political economic and cultural ties with former colonies remained. N. F. Ukadike (1994) asks if today we have: “whither black African cinema?” which defines a continuing tendency of ideological European influence when supporting African cinema (Ukadike, 1994:24).

The 1980’s and the decades after 1980’s marked a significant turning in Africa-Europe relations. The EU started its support programmes during the last decade, based on the international cooperation of the European Union with African countries which was based on the Cotonou Agreement⁵ in the year 2000. The majority of funding for African films continues to come from the EU and in most cases filmmakers need to comply with what the EU requires if they want to receive so needed funding. As mentioned before, even after their independence European countries continue to maintain ties with their former African colonies by introducing various support programmes in economical, humanitarian, agricultural, and other areas of focus. One of these support focuses is the cultural field which includes cinema. As showed in the Graph Number 3, the European Development Fund’s support to cinema constitutes nearly 20% of the total support. The question remains if this support amounts to a genuine EU intention to boost cinema production in African countries.

The aim of the previous chapters was to review briefly the most important developments in European involvement in African filmmaking since the colonial times. Before considering recent developments in the EU support programmes to African cinema it is important to review the colonial past, because now both: Africa and Europe are dealing with the effects of it. This work focuses on the EU support programmes’ to African cinema. I examine the EU position when supporting African cinema and its effect on film style. Through the analysis of the EU programmes supporting African cinema I try to question what has changed in the European-African relation after African countries gained their independence. This work intends to answer if European support holds other intentions similar to the ones since the

⁵ In the EU partnership with the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States, cultural development is recognized in the Cotonou Agreement as a fully fledged sector of cooperation.

colonial times. Furthermore, it examines if equal cooperation is possible. Further chapters will review the most recent EU support programmes to African cinema.

2. Current Policies

2.1. European Development Fund

Moving on to the discussion about current EU policies towards African cinema, the main reason why African filmmakers need to seek for funds in the EU institutions today is because African governments do not have strong film funding policies. A key issue for African countries is the access to international markets for their cultural products and services: there the EU has a role of the biggest aid donor in the world. 20% of the aid budget is managed by the European Commission (EU, 2011). As already noted earlier, international cooperation of the EU with African countries is mainly based on the Cotonou Agreement (2000) with 78 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries (EuropeAid, 2012). Its article 27 focuses on: “integrating of the cultural dimension at all levels of development cooperation” (EuropeAid, 2011). The aid programmes are handled by EuropeAid, a department of the European Commission. Their main focus is the protection of the cultural heritage and the support of the audiovisual sector, such as the ACP Films Programme (EuropeAid, 2011). The latter programme has been supporting African cinema and practical cases of its support will be analyzed in further chapters.

The European Development Fund (EDF) is the main instrument for providing Community aid to development in the ACP States and overseas countries and territories (OCTs) (EDF, 2011). It is funded by the Member States, and it is subject to its own financial rules and managed by a specific committee. The EDF supports actions in the ACP countries and the OCTs in the following key areas for cooperation:

- “economic development,
- social and human development,
- regional cooperation and integration” (EDF, 2011) .

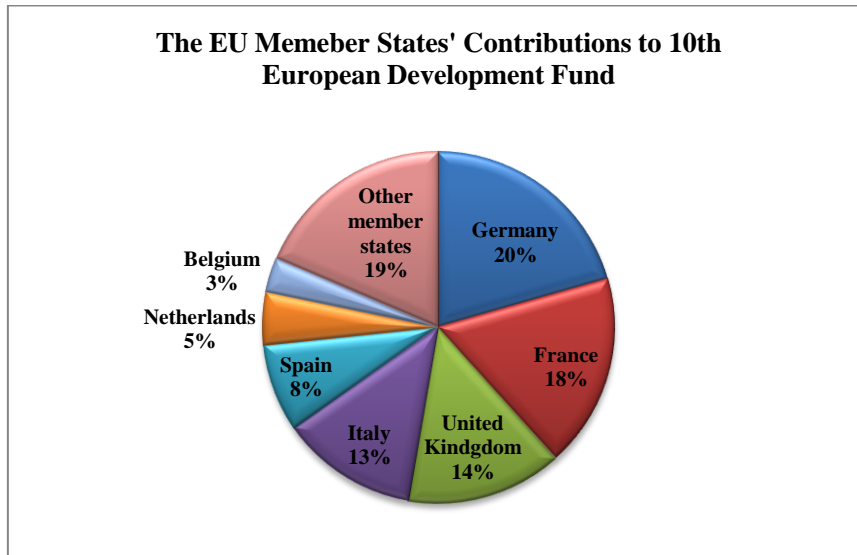
The EDF consists of several instruments:

- grants managed by the European Commission,
- risk capital and loans to the private sector, managed by the European Investment Bank under the Investment Facility (EDF, 2011).

“It is concluded for a multi-annual period, usually 5 years, and is implemented within the framework of an international agreement between the European Community and the partner countries” (EDF, 2011).

From the Graph Number 1 below, it becomes clear that the biggest contributors to 10th EDF were Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Italy and Spain. It goes without saying that these countries are the most important decision makers in terms the EU funds' allocation.

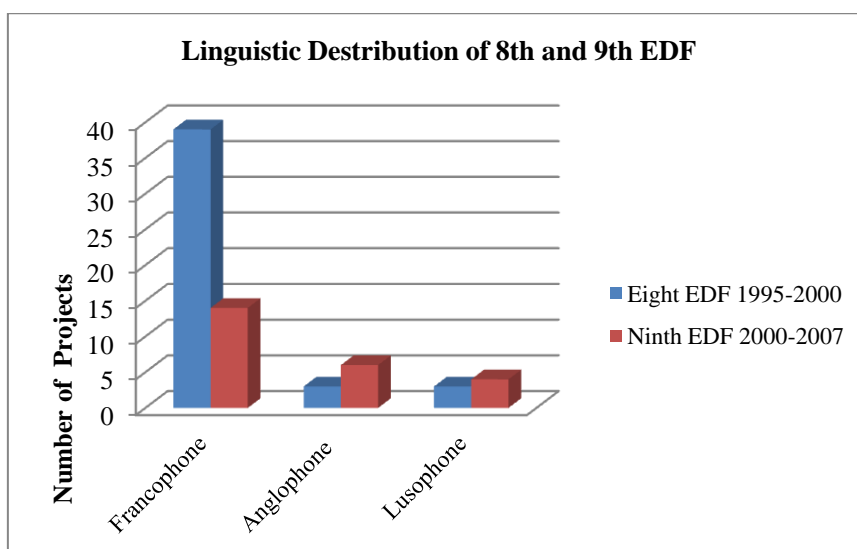
Graph Number 1 "The EU Member States' Contributions to 10th European Development Fund"



Source: EDF, 2011

From the Graph Number 2 and as already noted in previous chapters it becomes obvious that Francophone African countries were dominant in terms of receiving funds from 8th and 9th EDF.

Graph Number 2: "Linguistic Distribution of 8th and 9th EDF"

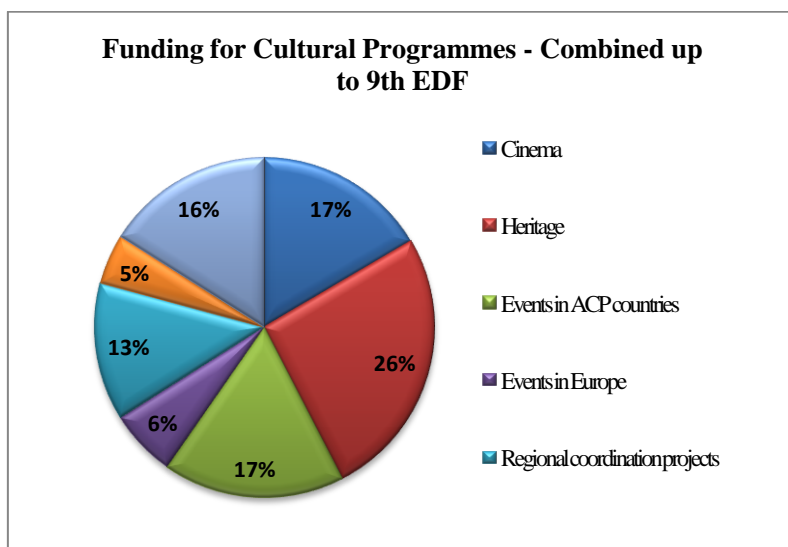


Source: Secretariat ACP, 2009

The EDF is the main instrument for providing Community aid for development cooperation in the ACP States. Furthermore, the EDF also supports development activities in the cultural field.

As it is reflected in the graph below, following heritage, cinema received most of the funding from the 9th EDF in 2010. 9th EDF allocated 8 million Euros (out of 15 million Euros in total) for supporting African cinema (ACP Films Programme, 2010). Further in this work it will be analysed in critical manner the most recent EU's policies towards support to African cinema.

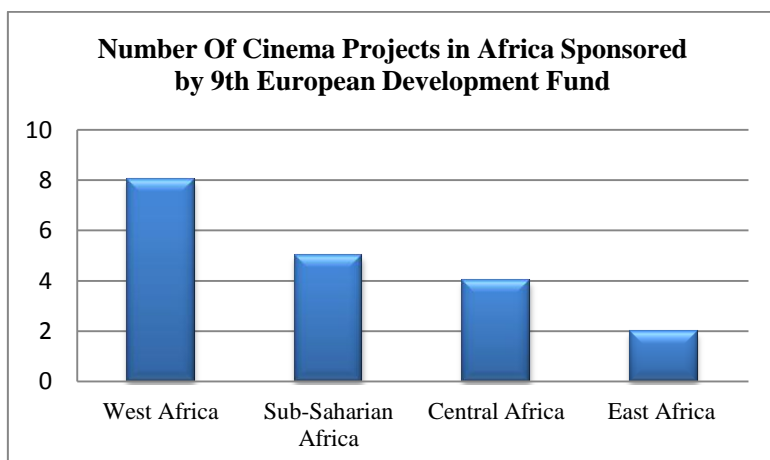
Graph Number 3: "Funding for Cultural Programmes - Combined up to 9th EDF"



Source: EDF, 2011

Moving to the Graph below illustrates the common tendency of the dominance of Francophone countries in terms of the funding of African cinema. According to the data illustrated in the Graph Number 4, there were 8 cinema projects in West Africa that were sponsored by 9th EDF. This amount was higher when compared to cinema projects in Central and Eastern Africa.

Graph Number 4: Number of Cinema Projects in Africa Sponsored by 9th EDF"



Source: Secretariat ACP, 2009

2.2. Media Mundus

2.2.1. About the Programme

Media Mundus is one of the EU programmes supporting African cinema. It was launched in 2009 by the EU and it supports projects linking European film and television professionals with their counterparts from all over the world (EU, Media Mundus: 2011). The main aim of the programme is to: “allow audiovisual professionals to be more competitive and help develop worldwide distribution by, among other things, making international co-productions easier” (EU, Media Mundus, 2011). It will also make sure that more audiences get the chance to see films from around the world” (EU, Media Mundus: 2011).

Media Mundus has a budget of EUR 15 million for 2011-2013 to fund projects that:

1. “enhance the skills of audiovisual professionals from Europe and outside (“third countries”),
2. improve access to international markets,
3. strengthen the distribution and circulation of European audiovisual works in non-European markets and vice versa” (EU, Media Mundus: Boosting International Cooperation in the Audiovisual Industry Brussels, 2011).

According to the objectives of the programme: “it allows audiovisual professionals to be more competitive and helps develop worldwide distribution” (EU, Media Mundus: 2011). Also, the programme has as aim that: “more audiences get a chance to see films from around the world” (EU, Media Mundus, 2011). However, the reality in most cases is that it is more a one way road, whereby supported films are showed in Europe, but don’t find an audience in Africa. The support to African cinema brings some controversy. Firstly, and as it will be discussed specifically through the Kenyan case, African cinema does not reach African audiences sufficiently. Secondly, support in some way distorts business aspect of African film industry, by placing African films into specific events, such as film festivals, where they are usually free of charge and for very specific audiences in this way left without a chance breaking through to more African audiences. However, one can question why what is relevant in Europe should be relevant in Africa or vice versa. Why is the EU ignoring African tastes hiring foreign directors to create “films for Africans”? Whatever support programme is implemented in Africa, should it be for African people or for Europeans to contribute to their own donor agenda? This view is based on an assumed attitude or overall view towards Africa by Westerners. Sometimes one finds African films that have won awards in Europe being totally incomprehensible to African audiences for which they were initially intended.

Distribution of supported films is also in the EU hands, which makes it more difficult for Africans actually to own them. African films are often not even seen in their country of origin. To put it in M. Diawara's words: "Fundamentally, African cinema does not exist because film distribution is not in Africa's hands (Diawara M. , 1987:11). This work aims to look at recent EU programmes to African cinema in critical manner.

2.2.2. Babylon Film International

Babylon Film International is an initiative funded by the EU's Media Mundus and the Nigerian Film Corporation. This programme aims to get European and African filmmakers to work together "on script and story development skills, production technique, and access to the international marketplace via the programme's network of industry consultants which include funders, international sales agents and distributors" (Babylon Film EU, 2011). Babylon International is dedicated to exploring new markets for European film projects in Africa and for African film projects in Europe.

According to the programme requirements, the target of Babylon International EU is to support "the filmmakers from Europe and Africa with stories dealing with historical and contemporary subjects on either continent" (Babylon Film EU, 2011). The programme also requires that: "the stories should appeal to audiences in both European and African markets" (Babylon Film EU, 2011). Adaptations of novels dealing with colonial history or with the cultural and literary heritage of either Africa or Europe are also in the targets of the programme (Babylon Film EU, 2011). In the following chapters the particular case of Kenyan filmmaker Ekwa Msangi-Omari who received support from this programme will be analyzed.

2.3. ACP Films Programme

As already mentioned, the EU's aid programmes are handled by EuropeAid, a department of the European Commission. Their main focus is on the protection of cultural heritage and the support of the audiovisual sector, such as implemented by ACP Films Programme. It is financed under the 9th EDF (ACP Films Programme, 2010). The overall objective of the ACP films programme is "to contribute to the development and structuring of the cinema and audiovisual industries in the ACP States, so that they can create and disseminate their own works more effectively" (ACP Films Programme, 2010). It also aims to step up the promotion of cultural diversity, enhance ACP cultural identities and contribute to intercultural dialogue (ACP Films Programme, 2010). The programme provides support for 24 projects with a total funding of EUR 6.5 million: 12 projects in the field of production, 6 in distribution, promotion and networking, and 6 in training (ACP Films Programme, 2010). These projects

are implemented in all the African, Caribbean and Pacific regions, in English, French and Portuguese languages (EuropeAid, Guidelines for Applicants First Open Call for Proposals, 2011).

Conforming to the European Commission Directorate General for the Development, the cultural sector is also a promising sector of economic activity and growth and its potential for fighting poverty is increasingly recognized (Europeaid, 2011). The EU cultural cooperation with partner countries around the world is part of its commitment to the Millennium Development Goals (Europeaid, 2011). According to the ACP Films programme: “cinema and audiovisual works can raise awareness and encourage both social and economic development” (www.acpfilms.eu, 2011). “Film production and dissemination create jobs and financial flows at the national and intra-ACP level, in the sector itself but also in related sectors” (www.acpfilms.eu, 2011).

As mentioned before, the ACP Film Programme is “a programme of support to ACP cinema by the EDF” (EU, Programme of support for ACP cinema issued by the European Development Fund, 2003). The main goals outlined in the programme are:

1. “To boost the cinema in ACP countries by confirming European support for it and improving assistance procedures” (EU, Programme of support for ACP cinema issued by the European Development Fund, 2003)
2. “To respond to the creativity of filmmakers in the various ACP regions (EU, Programme of support for ACP cinema issued by the European Development Fund, 2003).
3. “To contribute to the emergence of new talents and the perpetuation of generations of ACP filmmakers (EU, Programme of support for ACP cinema issued by the European Development Fund, 2003).
4. “Boosting the creation/production of cultural goods and services in the ACP countries by promoting their integration into distribution channels and by drawing even more benefit from the interregional ACP framework; promoting their access to markets at different levels – local, regional, intra-ACP, European and international; enhancing the technical and entrepreneurial capacities of the different players, operators and entrepreneurs involved in the cultural sector in the ACP countries” (EC, Commissioner Piebalgs announces new support for culture in the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries on the occasion of the Ouagadougou Film Festival, 2011).

Selection criteria of the programme are mainly based on “relevance and action” (Schalkwyk, 2010). That means that a programme intends: “to consider the problems of a region or state to those of the target groups and beneficiaries” (Schalkwyk, 2010). Other criteria also include: “effectiveness, feasibility, sustainability” (Schalkwyk, 2010). “Candidates need to show that they have sufficient sources of funding to ensure continuity of their organisation throughout the action for which the grant is sought” (Schalkwyk, 2010). They must demonstrate sufficient experience” (Schalkwyk, 2010). Eligibility criteria of the programme mainly consist of the following aspects:

1. “The candidates need to be: audiovisual productions companies based in an ACP country or in an European country which hold the rights for the proposed project and are associated with a filmmaker who is national of an ACP country (including South Africa)” (EU, Programme of support for ACP cinema issued by the European Development Fund, 2003).
2. The candidates must “have stable and adequate sources of finance to guarantee the continuity of their organisation for the duration of the project and make real and substantial financial contribution to the project” (EU, Programme of support for ACP cinema issued by the European Development Fund, 2003).
3. The candidates must have “adequate level of technical and management capacity and skills for the project put forward for the European Union’s financial support” (EU, Programme of support for ACP cinema issued by the European Development Fund, 2003).

Turning to Kenya, ACP Films Programme objectives of the action in East Africa are: “to promote and strengthen the East African film industry by improving its competitive capabilities, particularly at the level of co-productions, and taking into account the cultural dimension of the sector” (EuropeAid, Culture Auction Floor: a Match for Development, 2010). Additionally, the expected result of the programme is the “enrichment of the local producing process and sharing of experience and production knowledge” (EuropeAid, ACP-EU Support Programme to ACP Cultural Sectors (ACPCultures II + ACPFilms II) Guidelines for Applicants First Open Call for Proposals, 2011). Moving to the target group of the Programme: “it comprises both local crew members and actors, and all the other organisations and people who, at various levels, are directly or indirectly involved in the production of the film” (ACP Films Programme, 2010). The final beneficiary of the co-production “is the audio-visual sector from Kenya and East Africa mainly in the fields of cinema and video

production. Also the goal of the programme is to reach as many audiences as possible not only in Kenya and East Africa, but abroad as well and, therefore, enable a larger intercultural dialogue” (EuropeAid, Culture Auction Floor: a Match for Development, 2010).

Kenya lacks a proper funding system from the state; therefore the majority of Kenyan filmmakers seek sponsors, who often demand editorial control or copyright ownership of the project (Luesby 2011). The first ACP Films Programme grant worth 266.395 Euros in Kenya was allocated to B. Nyanja’s film *The Captain of Nakara*.

Further chapters of this work will analyze the practical outcomes of the programme in Kenya, addressing issues not only of the application process, but also of the postproduction of the film. Feedback from various stakeholders of the film, such as the scriptwriter, the filmmaker and the producer agency, will help to get a deeper insight of the practical aspects of the EU support to Kenyan filmmaking.

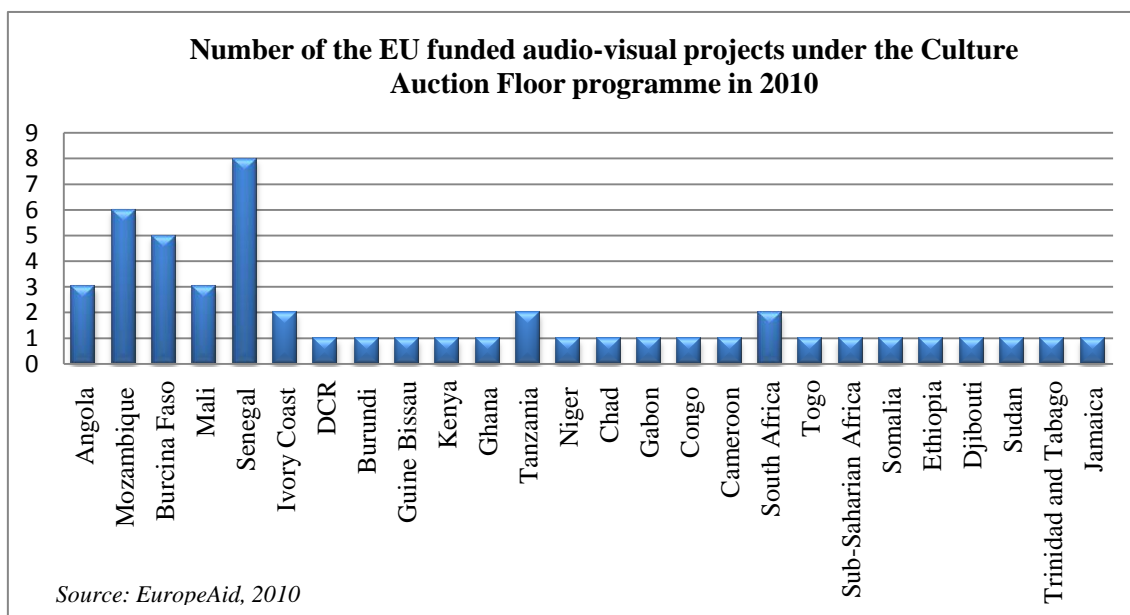
2.4.Culture Auction Floor

The projects of Culture Auction Floor are the projects that were not financed under the ACP Cultures and ACP films in 2009 because of budget limitations. Therefore, the purpose of Culture Auction Floor is to propose to European donors cultural projects evaluated by the European Commission (EuropeAid, Culture Auction Floor: a Match for Development, 2010). From the table below it can be seen that Senegal received the most support for audio-visual projects (9 projects), followed by Mozambique (6 projects granted), Burkina Faso (5 projects), Mali and Angola (3 projects) and the country of our interest Kenya – 1 project. The dominant recipients were Francophone countries: Senegal, Burkina Faso and Mali. In the second place appear two Lusophone countries: Mozambique and Angola.

The European Commission's cooperation office, EuropeAid, is hosting the Culture Auction Floor programme for culture projects in partner countries, including neighbourhood countries, aiming to facilitate matches between investors and project developers. The projects intend to promote access to culture and cultural diversity in developing countries, and to develop the cultural industries in the framework of three EU programmes: ‘Investing in People’, ‘ACP Films’ and ‘ACP Cultures’. According to the EU representatives these calls received “an overwhelming response, with a high number of high-quality proposals: 778 concept notes were received worth approximately €500 million, with 53 projects funded by the EU, and many more highly rated that were not financed simply due to budget limitations” (EuropeAid, Culture Auction Floor: a Match for Development 2010)

The purpose of the ‘Culture Auction Floor’ is to pitch to investors and donors high-quality proposals thoroughly evaluated by the European Commission. These proposals, not selected only because of budget limitations, are ‘EC quality stamped’ and ready to be financed (EuropeAid, Culture Auction Floor: a Match for Development, 2010). By bringing together investors, donors and development actors such as EU Member States, multilateral donors, regions, global funds, private foundations, the private sector and civil society organisations, this programme intends: “to build more effective and inclusive partnerships for development” (EuropeAid, Culture Auction Floor: a Match for Development 2010). By making these projects available to public and private investors, the European Commission seeks to increase cost effectiveness, coherence and coordination by giving access to ready-to-fund projects (EuropeAid, Culture Auction Floor: a Match for Development, 2010).

Graph Number 5: "Number of the EU Funded Audio-visual projects under the Culture Auction Floor Programme in 2010"



This chapter surveyed the main current EU support programmes to African cinema. As it is discussed throughout the work, European support to African cinema has been criticised by various scholars, such as M. Diawara, N.F. Ukadike, D. Murphy, P. Williams, M. Saul, R. Austen. For instance, often, according to the authors, neither the African filmmaker’s vision nor the African public is being considered. As emphasized earlier, there are other issues than HIV and corruption, such as psychology of the personages, love and family (Diawara, 2010). Authors argue that European Union decides what African public would be intersected in. “This situation limits creativity of African cineastes that are funded for making African stories that satisfy Western institutions” (Diawara/Diakhaté, 2011:92).

No doubt that the question of creativity is very delicate. The usual criticism has been that creativity of African filmmakers is constrained by European funding agencies: African filmmakers cannot create films the way they want, to express the vision of Africa in their own particular manner. Also, usual critique by African film scholars and filmmakers has been that European donors impose their own rules of what needs to be created. Funded films pander to European audiences, in this way raising the question of the role of African audiences. Therefore the question persists if African cinema funded by Europeans is created for African and about Africans or does it just reflect the continuing cultural dependency from Europe?

3. Definition and Authenticity of African Cinema

Considering the EU support, granted to the African cinema, it is reasonable to look at the definition of it. Since the development of African cinema in the 1960's up to present days African filmmakers have been facing financial challenges. Yet, when African filmmakers are funded by the EU, the problem arises of having less creative control over their cinematic projects. As discussed earlier, scholars of the African cinema and African filmmakers have been criticizing European funding bodies for constringing African filmmakers' creative visions.

I will not attempt to develop a detailed analysis of definition for the African cinema nor the definition of its authenticity. Needless to say, in order to understand the definition of African cinema, it is necessary to analyze various aspects of a historical development in Africa, social relations and perceptions of African people. However, the context of emergence in relation to the African cinema has been discussed earlier in this work. Within the framework of the EU support programmes to the African cinema its authenticity will be defined by how liberal the African filmmakers are left to express their cinematic ideas. This chapter questions if African cinema can be referred to as authentic when seeking for funds in Europe, whether the African filmmakers need to adjust their stories to cater European audiences. It is important to highlight that African cinema might be called authentic when, first of all, it is intended for the African audiences and film distribution is owned by the Africans. Furthermore, the aim of this chapter is to discuss the concepts of African cinema, defined by various African cinema scholars. Also, we question if a supported African film can indeed maintain its authenticity.

Furthermore, in terms of what African cinema is, this chapter only intends to emphasize the fact that European donors cannot have generalistic views regarding what African cinema is or needs to be. In other words, as D. Murphy (2000) puts it "Western critics must be sensitive to differing cultural values when dealing with African culture" (Murphy, 2000:239). The same applies to the European donors, who need to be aware of the fact that what is relevant in Europe, might not be appreciated in Africa. A particular case of Kenyan film, that received European support, will be analyzed further in this work.

Regarding the concept of African cinema, D. Murphy and P. Williams (2010) do not suggest that "films produced in different contexts and at different times on various parts of the continent are in some way expressions of a singular, ineffable but inherently African cinematic vision" (Murphy/Williams, 2010:33). According to the authors, "African cinema is a collective term for a range of cinematic practices, in the same way as the terms Hollywood

or European Cinema reflects a series of cinematic contexts and choices” (Murphy/Williams, 2010:33). For instance, West African cinema differs from the East African cinema due to its different colonial past, social relations and people’s perceptions. Authors remark that generalist views about Africa and its people’s needs and tastes for cinema, expressed by the donors, also need to be reconsidered.

Furthermore, the discussion over what constitutes African cinema has divided among the auteur, popular filmmaking and along the colonial lines of Francophone, Anglophone and Lusophone cultures of the African cinema. However, these categories do not adequately describe the different practices evident in the national cinemas and globally contradict the prevalent idea of a homogenous African cinema. In this context, the classical definition of African cinema, as a mode of practice that adheres to the auteur tradition of French filmmaking, confronts the emergent example of Nollywood and related modes of film production.

Furthermore, the issue of a possibility to remain authentic in representing the filmmaker’s ideas when seeking for foreign funding has extensively preoccupied the African film scholars. The definition of authenticity of the African film is very complex. As D. Murphy (2000) argues in his article, pertaining to questioning theories of authentic African cinema, that the definition of authenticity includes such debates as to what should African film look like and how it should differ from the Western cinema? Moreover, according to the author, authenticity of the African film has not been limited to filmmakers (Murphy, 2000:39). “Both African and Western critics have applied themselves to the task of defining the nature of a truly African cinema” (Murphy, 2000:40).

D. Murphy and P. Williams (2010) discuss how African cinema’s authenticity is perceived. First, according to the authors, “authenticity is referenced as contingent concept – as opposed to one catering Western tastes, which thus allows Africans to break free from the alienation caused by systematic exposure to foreign films” (Murphy/Williams, 2010:23). Second, according to the authors, “it is assumed that African cinema is popular cinema that deals with subjects that are common within traditional or folk cultures, as well as contemporary African urban African cultures, and thus has a potential to attract wide audiences” (Murphy/Williams, 2010:24). Third, as D. Murphy and P. Williams (2010) claim, a great burden is placed on the shoulders of the African filmmaker, who is constricted with representing Africa as a sort of spokesperson (Murphy D., Williams P., 2010). In other words, D. Murphy and P. Williams (2010) perceive authenticity in relation to how free African filmmakers are to create without

seeking to cater the Western tastes. Moreover, authentic, according to the authors, does not necessarily mean folkloric, as it is still perceived among European audiences when considering the African cultures.

According to D. Murphy (2000) „cultural influence is not simply one way street“, where the West influences the rest of the World (Murphy, 2000:237). Today, the EU remains a dominant force in influencing the African cinema. However, it is necessary to understand that „Africa and the West are not mutually exclusive worlds that possess their own authentic and unchanging identities, on the contrary, they influence and change each other” (Murphy, 2000:241).

This thesis further questions if the principle of an equal exchange is possible in the ACP Films Programme. The practical analysis of ACP films programme in Kenya will try to determine if and to what extent the filmmakers, seeking for funds, have been constrained in terms of their artistic expression.

As it was previously mentioned, we cannot exclude an important fact of the colonial past and its consequences. Today this fact influences the opinion of Europeans shaped towards Africa viewing it through the lens of a colonizer. „African vision of modernity can equally be argued to be challenging Western perceptions of the knowledge of Africa” (Murphy, 2000:41). According to D. Murphy (2000), the question of authenticity has been at the heart of the critical thinking in respect to the African cinema (Murphy, 2000:42). During the colonial times, the African cinema conformed to the Western belief of the Dark Continent, as they perceived Africa as a wild place. In many contexts Africa is still seen as a dark and passive continent. It is a high time to rethink such representation of Africa.

Furthermore, similar concerns are expressed by various African filmmakers in N. F. Ukadike's book “Questioning African Cinema: Conversations with Filmmakers” (2002), where he approaches filmmakers and leaves it up to them to express their own practical experiences on foreign support. According to the Nigerian filmmaker Chief Eddie Ugbomah “there is a need of shooting films relevant to Africans, not jokes as *King Solomon Mines*, or *Out of Africa*, to name a few” (Ukadike, 2002:125). “We do not need more jungle melodrama, where zebras and tigers run up and down on the screen” (Ukadike, 2002:126). According to the filmmaker, Africa needs the kind of films that develop African stories that would have a meaningful impact.

Med Hondo, who is considered to be one of the pioneers in the industry of African filmmaking has started his career in the 1960's, during the decade marking a birth of the

African cinema, perceives authenticity of the African film as a filmmaker's commitment to his/her genuine vision. He criticizes the filmmakers who try to please the European audiences in order to receive the funding. "By turning to foreign funding some filmmakers treat African culture as folklore to please the Westerners" (Ukadike, 2002:59). "They are dishonest, because they debase African cultures to satisfy the fantasies of Westerners" (Ukadike, 2002:59). The filmmaker posits that if he needed to lose his so-called dignity and his vision of the world that would mean he would be done for" (Ukadike, 2002:65). Med Hondo illustrates his statement by giving an example of his experience with the Warner Bros⁶ that agreed to produce his film with one million dollars (at the end of the 1970's). The company requested some new alterations to be made in the film. However, the filmmaker was not interested in changing his film, because the changes proposed "did not justice to the actual history of Africa" that he was trying to present (Ukadike, 2002:66). Despite the lack of money for his film production, the filmmaker refused it because he "was not able to put Americans' story in his film" (Ukadike, 2002:66). The point that the filmmaker wants to make is that "if he could not impose his ideas on Hollywood, why should they impose theirs on him" (Ukadike, 2002:66). "If I wanted my film to retain authenticity, I had to find money by myself" (Ukadike, 2002:66). However, as the filmmaker puts it: "if foreign funders would become a little bit curious and would want to explore Africa from African perspective, the filmmaker would be interested in their support" (Ukadike, 2002:66).

Jean-Pierre Bekolo, a Cameroonian filmmaker, on the contrary, refuses to adopt such an inflexible stance that a filmmaker should not compromise a bit in respect to funding or coproduction requests. (Ukadike, 2002:224). He argues that in the process of functioning as a filmmaker he/she should cultivate some measures of flexibility. According to the filmmaker, Med Hondo is being too radical with such statements. With reference to the above, a possibility of finding a balance between African filmmakers' needs and European funding bodies' requirements will be examined through a particular case in Kenya.

Furthermore, a Ghanaian filmmaker King Ampaw defines African film as mass media composed of the African language, African stories and African mentality (Ukadike, 2002:209). "America produces with Germany, France with Italy, France and Germany join together" (Ukadike, 2002:211). "They all co-produce with organizations within specific cultures – French, German, or Italian; it is still European culture" (Ukadike, 2002:211). "Whenever it comes to coproduction between African and European countries, then it is

⁶ Warner Bros is an American producer of film, television, and music entertainment.

subject to all types of scrutiny: whose interest it will serve” (Ukadike, 2002:211). King Ampaw posits that “if the story remains authentic African story there is no reason discussion should be about cultural differences, or difficulties” (Ukadike, 2002:211). According to the filmmaker “it depends on the topic, on the story being handled” (Ukadike, 2002:211). “The film production has become a financial blandishment, which means that money problem have forced to search for funds and coproduction” (Ukadike, 2002:211). However, according to King Ampaw, the filmmaker should aspire to remain true, genuine to his/her vision (Ukadike, 2002:211).

Furthermore, it is being argued that the African cinema has depended too much on Europe and that influenced its content. As already argued, this issue has persisted since the colonial times, when a majority of things were imposed on Africa to satisfy the European agenda, without considering the needs of Africa. Cinema is no exception. Let us not forget that filmmaking is a business and the one with more money holds all the decisive power. European donors have their own agendas in supporting the African filmmaking, while African filmmakers have their own visions and aspirations. However, African countries have a right and all the potential to develop their cinema industries following the needs of their people and their own priorities. The EU programmes of the African filmmaking support have been exposed to criticism for serving the Europe’s interests. If the filmmaker declines to follow the sponsors’ ideas, his career might be complete at that point (Ukadike, 2002:200). According to N.F. Ukadike (2002), African cinema, precisely this NGO sponsored type of cinema, needs to be perceived in a broader perspective that surpasses the cinema of cooperation (Ukadike, 2002:42). “African cinema is the one that reflects African cultural, socio-political and economic realities and that pertains to African culture” (Ukadike, 2002:42).

M. Diawara (1987) argues that “if African filmmakers do not go to the West, on one hand, they are not going to make a film; and if they go to the West, can they still call their films African cinema?” (Diawara, 1987:62). This statement was made few decades ago; today, independent African cinema industries, such as Nollywood, prove that Africans are able to create cinema themselves. However, most of the African countries still struggle to finance their own films. Nowadays, the African filmmakers are often caught in the dilemma of whether to present a rural and folkloric Africa or not, the kind of Africa that, unfortunately, is still often alive in the minds of European donors. Referring to the European funding bodies M. Diawara and L. Diakhate (2011) argue that African filmmakers are treated as if their vision have no importance, as if African audience is not relevant to a success of the film (Diawara/Diakhate, 2011:34).

M. Diawara (1987) claims that European institutions have implemented neo-colonial policies, which instruct the African audiences on what it should be interested in (Diawara, 1987:61). This situation limits creativity of the African filmmakers. Unfortunately, according to M. Diawara (1987), African filmmakers are usually granted the financial support in exchange of making the African stories that would please the European institutions (Diawara, 1987:62). The question persists if it is possible for the external help of the EU not to influence authenticity of the African cinema.

M. Diawara (1987) observed that many times African filmmakers are pushed into “schizophrenic situation: born in a city he/she is constrained to present rural Africa which is in fantasy of European producer” (Diawara, 1987:3). Often, according to the author, neither the African filmmaker’s vision nor the African public is being considered. Therefore, the African filmmakers are trapped in a situation where they cannot be authentic and genuine to their aspirations if they accept European money to support production of their films.

One needs to question if by depicting Africa as a continent in need, Europeans intend to justify their invasion in the continent. Indeed, Africa faces these social and economic challenges, but there are other matters to be discussed. One can wonder if issues, such as feelings, family and relations, are not relevant to the African audiences. The paradox remains in the fact that Africa often is different from the one that appears in the African films. These limited approaches constrict the broader perception of the African cinema. It portrays only one side of Africa and exacerbates stagnant images that the continent is only about savages and folkloric dancers ignoring different aspects of Africa, such as modernity, positive development in the fields of economy and social areas.

Kenyan filmmaker Judy Kibinge (2012) posited that “message driven cinema ruins it in every way imaginable” (Kibinge, 2012). According to her, in Kenya, for example, “documentary is largely misunderstood thanks to decades of message sponsored documentaries” (Kibinge, 2012). The Kenyan filmmaker claims that this is because of decades of NGOs documentaries, dominating the television and paying for that airtime. According to her “thanks to that, it is proved quite hard to reverse that and get some true respect going for the documentary genre” (Kibinge, 2012). In addition to J. Kibinge’s thoughts on message driven cinema, R. Bharuha (2009) confirms that “certainly, the arts can suffer if a didactic agenda is imposed” (Bharuha, 2009). This is a reality of NGO cinema where the funders - ‘First World’ economies expect artists in the ‘Third World’ to create films about the aids, domestic violence, women’s rights

and so on. “Some of these contrived narratives pass off as infotainments, more often than not; I find them disingenuous and lacking in body and soul” (Bharucha, 2009).

Furthermore, Kenyan filmmaker J. Kibinge duly argues that “Francophone begging bowl model is unsustainable even though the films that come from that region are beautiful, and artistic, whose eye and whose tastes do they pander from? Who’s paying for those “high art” Francophone films? Who’s watching them?” (Otas, 2012). J. Kibinge strongly believes that “filmmakers are really beginning to think about the stories they want to tell, how they are going to sustainably finance their creation; I would refer to this stage of Africa as a period of true awakening” (Otas, 2012).

We argue that authenticity prevails when a filmmaker is free to express his/her own perception of the world. A new generation of the African filmmakers is striving hard to reveal their visions of the world. Their aim is to take the African cinema to the next level, when it is created by Africans and to the African audiences. Despite these goals and aspirations in pursuit of foreign funding, Africans often face a dilemma of having to adjust their stories to suit the European audiences or remain authentic to the African audiences. One can question the Europeans’ will and genuine interest in taking Africa’s actual needs into consideration. The chapter on the Kenyan case will analyze if ACP Films Programme was considering the Kenyan film director’s creative visions and whether gave a chance to remain authentic in delivering his message to the audiences.

As remarked in the previous chapters, Europeans have been stereotyping many aspects related to Africa since the colonial times. One of the major stereotypes prevalent is that Africa cannot progress without the EU’s support. That too often becomes a pretext to impose the European intervention on a development of Africa. African cinema is no exception. It has been used for both, reassuring these stereotypes and reconfirming superiority of Europe. Having any cooperation project between the EU and Africa in mind, there should always be attempts made to maintain equality and a better understanding of each other’s needs. African filmmakers’ feedback on support programmes analyzed in this work reconfirms that there are still many things imposed by the Europeans. Donors should understand aspirations of the African filmmakers supported as well as that the expectations of African audiences should be considered. They should also try to open their minds and see how innovative and diverse African cinema seeks to become. In Europe, film has firstly functioned as a means of entertainment. The question remains if African cinema is an exception, being too often stuck in the frames of didactic NGO type films. As mentioned earlier, cases of the filmmakers

analyzed in this work prove that they are striving to build the African film industry, opposing stereotypical perceptions of what the African cinema is. European support programmes should be in line with the African filmmakers' visions if they are truly interested in a development of the African cinema industry.

It was the purpose of this chapter to shed some light on a definition of the African cinema and, more precisely, authenticity of it in the context of the EU support, being granted to the African cinema. One of the major criticisms towards the EU funding bodies has been that in order to receive a funding, the filmmaker is doomed to sacrifice his/her creative visions. Such scholars as M. Diawara (1987), N.F. Ukadike (2002) and D. Murphy (2000) addressed their concerns regarding maintaining authenticity of the African film when seeking for funds in the European institutions. Feedback of the African filmmakers mentioned above reveals that European support to the African cinema cannot be an entirely genuine act considering the interests of the filmmakers and African audiences. However, some of the filmmakers claim they should not adopt such an uncompromising stance of not compromising a bit that funding or coproduction would request. However, is it only the EU that should be criticized for restricting the filmmakers' creative freedom? African filmmakers also have to learn to find a compromise with the European institutions and that does not necessarily mean of their authenticity being undermined. Yet, this question will be reviewed in a more practical sense when analyzing the case of Kenya.

4. FESPACO

Talking about the EU support to African cinema it is necessary to mention the biggest African film festival in the continent. The European Commission supported the organization of FESPACO with funding of 1.74 million Euros for the 2011 festival. The Pan-African Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou (Festival Pan-Africain du cinéma et de la télévision de Ouagadougou) is the largest African film festival, held biennially in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. “The festival is for African film industry professionals offering them the chance to establish working relationships, exchange ideas and to promote their work” (What is Fespaco, 2012) FESPACO's stated aim is to "contribute to the expansion and development of African cinema as means of expression, education and awareness-raising" (What is Fespaco, 2012). Since FESPACO's founding, the festival has attracted visitors from across the continent and beyond (What is Fespaco, 2012). It reflects both, positive and negative outcomes attached to European support to the festival. On one hand it is being criticized for favoring Francophone African filmmakers, not promoting all and such important African film industries as Nollywood, on another hand it is being recognized for having grown up to this scale of African film event showcasing African filmmakers' work.

It is important to note the limitations of the festival and determine whether European support to this festival contributes to the promotion of African film industries. According to the N. F. Ukadike (2002) “only the films that were made in the cooperation with the European countries are higher quality” (Ukadike, 2002:34). N.F. Ukadike (2002) challenges the concept of the festival by declaring that “it is pretext for organizing conferences about the state of African cinema for the European Union, Radio France Internationale, BBC and many NGO's” (Ukadike, 2002:51). Furthermore, N. F. Ukadike (2002) questions “how is that foreign distributors who distribute African films and cheat on African filmmakers are given all the comfort in the festival?” (Ukadike, 2002:57). The author thinks that the festival is created “in spite of Africans and not for Africans” (Ukadike, 2002:57). In addition, he observes that “most of administration in charge is pro-British, pro-French and pro-German, because they possess the money and they give it to those who follow them” (Ukadike, 2002:58).

Jean-Pierre Bekolo criticized FESPACO for “being a very conservative institution and dragging along such things as colonialism” (Murphy/Williams, 2010:200). The filmmaker also argues that people in charge of the festival are keeping younger generation filmmakers from moving with the times (Murphy/Williams, 2010:200). These comments about both,

FESPACO in general and organizers of the festival reveal major concerns regarding francophone influence with attempt to maintain strategic presence in Africa through investing in cultural co-operation including cinema is still rooted in the festival.

The case of FESPACO proves that, as N. F. Ukadike (2002) puts it, “there are strings attached to all this foreign aid” (Ukadike, 2002:59). Moreover, the author questions if “FESPACO can be liberated to make it what it is supposed to be – Pan-African affair, when French money supports it?” (Ukadike, 2002:59). N. F. Ukadike’s (2002) interview with Sudanese filmmaker Gadalla Gubara reveals more debatable issues regarding the festival. According to the filmmaker, “the money comes to Africa not in the form of cash, but in the form of airline tickets and hotel accommodations provided for foreigners” (Ukadike 2002:40). “One can find out that only about twenty per cent of the hotel for the guests of FESPACO consists of Africans” (Ukadike, 2002:41).

These facts make one question if the festival is dedicated to Africans or to Europeans, particularly to French donors’ agenda. G. Gubara believes, that “Africans can organize successful festivals that serve their interests if they are planned properly” (Ukadike, 2002:41). The filmmaker correctly argues that “if you want to eat, produce your own, if not, die from hunger” (Ukadike, 2002:41). “Now”, filmmaker continues, “Sudan has an abundance of wheat and sugar, they even have enough to export to Arab countries, because they learned to depend on themselves” (Ukadike, 2002:41). This statement is also relevant to cinema industry. “Africans have to depend on themselves and their ability to make good films” (Ukadike, 2002:42). Although it is very difficult when in majority of African countries there are no national policies for African cinema. However, such cases of African filmmakers as Kenyan in particular analyzed in this work prove that if one has a strong will, it is possible to produce films independently governmental or foreign funding.

French cinema is known for its art-house⁷ film style. Therefore, due to the fact that FESPACO is supported mostly by French, it consists of art-house type films. FESPACO remains: “central strand in Francophone filmmaking” (Saul/Austen, 2010:4). As a result, non-francophone countries’ films and more commercial African films as Nollywood find it difficult to compete in this festival. From other point of view, festival organizers defend their work by saying that they intend “to affirm the existence of African cinema, made in Africa, by Africa, on African topics” (Saul/Austen, 2010:45). However, one can question if this pro-French reputation of FESPACO also needs to be transformed as new African cinema from

⁷ A film intended to be a serious artistic work, often experimental and not designed for commercial profits

non-francophone countries arises. Yet, if the festival was more diverse, perhaps it would boost its attractiveness outside and most importantly inside Africa.

Having to accommodate European donors who are attentive to their market is both enriching and controversial because too often anything likely to displease an international audience is erased from the films (www.africancultures.com, 2013). Low turnout of general public in the festival has to do with people assuming the films are just “FESPACO films” and has little popular interest (McCain, 2011: 242). Therefore, the audiences in screenings are mostly European and discussions about African film industries matters are held largely by European audience. Films shown in the festival according to C. McCain (2011) have more relevance to elite festival audience than to the mass viewing public of Africa (McCain, 2011:243).

FESPACO provides an opportunity to share African films with the rest of the world, however, without public backing African cinema will never become a job-creating industry (www.africancultures.com, 2013). If the EU supports the festival for exhibiting its own sponsored films and independent African filmmakers are not appreciated, the sustainability for the future of the festival is therefore questionable. For instance, exclusion of the biggest film industry in the festival has been noticeable. Nollywood challenges old assumptions about how and why African films should be made. Including more variety of African films into the programme of the festival such as Nollywood or East-African films would one step forward in promoting African film industries, because African film industries can develop when they reach wide African audiences.

Each of these mentioned positions help to understand the shortcomings of European support to African cinema. However, despite these criticisms, FESPACO’s popularity remains high. Kenyan filmmaker Judy Kibinge had two films that were showed during the festival and she has been there three times. She expressed opposite view to opinions mentioned above, by saying that “for a filmmaker this experience is amazing: over half a million people attend, and opening and closing ceremonies held in a stadium, music and film everywhere” (Kibinge, 2012). However, she also noted organizational shortfalls: “it is organizational nightmare, plagued with problems: they send the filmmakers tickets late” (Kibinge, 2012). The first time she was invited to the festival, she even needed to travel twenty eight hours through Ghana and Burkina desert due to organizational shortfalls of the festival. Notwithstanding these inconveniences, the filmmaker continued: “when you do get there, it is a magical experience: the screenings, the shows, the fireworks, and the excitement” (Kibinge, 2012).

In contrast to the critics regarding the pro-French and art-house type of contents of the festival, J. Kibinge had different opinion: “it is the place to see amazing artistic African Cinema, and in the TV sections one has an opportunity to some wonderful commercial films too” (Kibinge, 2012). According to J. Kibinge, FESPACO remains conflicted because it is very Francophone and much disorganized, and the French definitely favor their own films (Kibinge, 2012). However, Kenyan filmmaker emphasized on positive aspects of the festival by saying that “for the adventurous or the creative, it is an experience of a lifetime, a real celebration of film in an African country that loves film” (Kibinge, 2012). “Also, it is special because unlike East Africa, West Africa is filled with culture, so the music, the food, the drumming all come together; screenings are in open air cinemas under stars and also in huge cinema halls” (Kibinge, 2012). This admiration of the festival and of its cultural events that is a part of it could be justified by the lack of attention to culture, cinema in particular, in Eastern Africa. Kenyan filmmaker regrets that FESPACO 2011 was not as brilliant as the others that she had a chance to participate in. To no surprise the reason behind that are finances. According to J. Kibinge’s experience “filmmakers were too much in debt that time, so Hotel Independence which is the heart and soul of FESPACO, the central meeting place, was not the place where most filmmakers were staying because FESPACO apparently had not paid their bills, and so unfortunately, without a string central meeting place, which has always been in Hotel Independence, the energy of the festival was a little low” (Kibinge, 2012).

Each of these theoretical and practical positions of African filmmakers and film scholars mentioned in this chapter make an important contribution to our understanding of the realities of the festival. On one hand it is being criticized for French influence but on the other hand it is recognized for promoting African cinema in Africa. It goes without saying that due to financial dependency festival organizers are forced to compromise what their European sponsors expect from them. However, the festival represents the case when with strong local government support and foreign assistance effectiveness is possible. The important point here is that for the foreign support to work, a local government’s strong will is essential. Film was written into Burkina Faso’s constitution in the 1960's as a way to create a new post-colonial identity. This country welcomed the 23rd edition of FESPACO in February, 2013 (Les Grandes Dates du FESPACO, 2012). With or without criticism one important fact of the festival cannot be denied: it has been going on for 23 years and it is only one of this scale of cinema festivals held in Africa.

5. Nollywood

As discussed in the Chapter 3, the authenticity of the African film has been defined as how free African filmmakers are to express their cinematic visions when seeking foreign funding. In contrast to this situation there is the Nollywood video industry that has been flourishing without foreign support, and is totally self-sustained. By the same token, Nollywood can be called authentic African cinema, because Nollywood films represent the real life and aspirations of Nigerian people. On the contrary, films financed by Europeans, that address subjects that are only relevant for Europeans, such as HIV, poverty, women's rights, wars cannot fall under the same definition of African cinema. As M. Saul and R.A. Austen (2010) put it: "Nollywood films are something that people are dreaming about" (Saul/Austen, 2010:50). Nevertheless the criticism regarding low quality and such recurring themes as witchcraft, critics cannot ignore Nollywood's existence and rapid growth. The Nollywood filmmakers are, therefore, independent of creative constraints that can be imposed to African filmmakers by foreign funding agencies.

The aim of this chapter is not to analyze thoroughly the Nollywood that began around twenty years ago as a low-budget feature film industry in Nigeria. To do so one would need to consider various aspects of this industry's phenomena, such as Nigerian social and cultural developments as well as the political context of the country where Nollywood emerged. The purpose of this chapter is to make a few comments on the industry that is independent of foreign aid. M. Saul and R.A. Austen (2010) argue that "the Nollywood videos are so fundamental to Africa's self-representation" that it is important to consider the Nigerian cinema industry when talking about African cinema in general (Saul/Austen, 2010: 34).

It is important to highlight major differences between Nollywood videos and celluloid films that are associated with African cinema sponsored by the Europeans. Nollywood films are shot on much cheaper digital formats and are highly consumed by Africans, thus challenging the traditional concept of "African cinema". Twenty years ago, the emergence of cheap video equipment made possible a whole new kind of filmmaking that was alternative to celluloid cinema and immediately became highly successful within the African public. The "video boom" arose on a commercial basis: not the corporate, capitalist commercialism of Hollywood, but the commerce of the African market – an enormous energy of exchange, but without large capital formations, bank loans, or much relationship with the formal sector at all (Haynes, 2013). The average budget of a Nollywood film has risen to about \$50,000 and films

are typically shot in two or three weeks and postproduction takes another two or three weeks (Haynes, 2013).

Nollywood is often framed in contrast to FESPACO that associated with Francophone African cinema, influenced by European trends, French in particular. Nevertheless there are other African film styles, such as Nollywood's which is of popular entertaining. M. Diawara (1994) calls Nollywood „a proactive guest that would not correspond to European standards; Nigerians produce their own standards, even if its quality depends on its quantity“ (Ukadike, 1994:49). Nollywood filmmakers believe that celluloid production will disappear in the near future due to cheaper digital alternatives to shooting high-resolution film. Therefore, FESPACO should think of adjusting their requirements to technological changes and accept digital films for competition with celluloid films. The other reason most Nigerian practitioners are not so keen about being in Ouagadougou because no film by a core Nollywood practitioner will feature in official competition and compete for the festival top prize (Haynes, 2013). Although, there is a Nigerian film listed in the main category of 2013 FESPACO's edition, the film shot on celluloid is by a France-based Nigerian born filmmaker, Newton Aduaka (Haynes, 2013).

Nollywood generates an annual turnover of 50 million dollars and has contributed to employment creation in the country (Saul/Austen 2010:20). According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) survey Nollywood is the second largest film industry in the world after Bollywood (United Nations, 2009). According to M. Saul and R. A. Austen (2010) “Nollywood draws its own map of social and cultural programs” (Saul/Austen, 2010:23). “The videos are so fundamental to Africa's self-representation that it is impossible to understand contemporary Africa and its place in the world without taking them into account” (Saul/Austen, 2010:21).

Many would say that African cinema would not survive without European aid. However, the Nollywood case proves different. Witnessing this industry growing it is impossible to ignore the fact that Africa can have its own independent cinema. “Since debuted in 1970, Nollywood has moved quickly from a corner into social life of the people of Nigeria to the center of its cultural and economic life” (Saul/Austen, 2010:49).

As emphasized earlier, Nollywood is an independent African cinema. Many are quick to criticize its contents and aesthetic value. One of the reasons might be the stereotypical European attitude towards Africa that it cannot progress independently. Yet, the Nollywood

case shows that it is high time for this stereotypical judgment to change, as Nollywood is growing into one of the biggest film industries.

As noted in the previous chapters, the power of creative industries to reduce poverty, create jobs and wealth has been a focus of the ACP Films Programme. Nevertheless African filmmakers clearly ponder the idea that EU support affects the poverty in the continent. European aid to African cinema should help to its consistent growth. However, none of African cinema industries funded by foreign institutions has experienced significant growth, except the Nigerian Nollywood video industry which is self-sufficient.

“Lately some notice has been taken of Nollywood in institutional contexts, but still only in marginal forms: there are screenings at festivals, but outside of competition, festival audiences or students are treated to documentaries about Nollywood made by foreigners, but not to Nollywood films themselves” (Saul/Austen , 2010:13). One of the reasons according to M. Saul and R. A. Austen (2010) is that Nollywood films have recently begun to appear on the horizons of the international community of film scholars “who are in general bemused at how to approach these films that are so different from what they are used to” (Saul/Austen, 2010:14). Yet, another important reason might be due to the rooted Western benevolent view towards Africa and the reluctance to assume the fact of the existence of Nollywood as an example of African independence. Nollywood has been underestimated by European donors and has not been in the interest of European development programmes. The reason is firstly, because Nollywood films that show superstition and witchcraft make the Europeans think that Africa is still in “total blackout and does not know where it is heading to” (Saul/Austen, 2010:46). Secondly, Nollywood being a self-sufficient industry has not been searching for foreign support like it happens with other African film industries (Saul/Austen, 2010:46). Nollywood proves that there is also cinema made in Africa without support of the European institutions. Africans do not just seek for help; Nollywood has showed Africans are capable and should be considered by their European counterparts as equal partners. Nevertheless Nollywood is self-funded and made entirely by Nigerians collaboration with Europe could take Nollywood to the next level in terms of films’ quality. By the same token perhaps the EU support programmes could carry out a more practical approach in supporting African cinema industries. In other words, Nollywood sells in Africa, while it cannot be told about European supported films that usually end up in festival circuits outside Africa and do not generate sufficient income for investing in other film productions.

Apart from the success and the positive message of Nollywood its enthusiasts overlook one important fact. Nigerian film industry boosted due to the fact that the country was oppressed by the dictatorship. Creating their own films was the only way to entertain people as foreign films were prohibited. In addition, Nigeria consists of 162 million people, which is a huge market for local production (The World Bank, 2013). For instance, Kenyan filmmaker Bob Nyanja does not agree that the Nigerian model would work in Kenya. In contrast to Nigeria which had its borders closed for foreign film and therefore national film thrived, Kenya has had many foreign options for entertainment, Hollywood in particular (Nyanja, 2012). However, the Kenyan filmmaker rightly points out, that the quality of both, Nollywood and Kenyan equivalent to Nollywood – Riverwood still needs to grow.

M. Saul and R. A. Austen (2010) give another important argument defending the phenomenon of Nollywood. The authors argue that it is difficult for Europeans to accept Nollywood films because they are opposed to the perspective of Africa that “cultural mediators acknowledge or prefer” (Saul/Austen, 2010:35). The fact is that Nollywood films have succeeded in Nigeria and other African countries. In contrast, this cannot be said about majority of African films being supported by the EU. One can question if the films that are made with European support are actually relevant to local public. As we all know, the African public often: “remains indifferent to African films, even apathetic, if it doesn’t reject them outright” (Saul/Austen, 2010:36). NGO type of cinema stresses the problem of poverty in African countries, while Nollywood films entertain the poor: they focus instead on the social and cultural forces of the local and how they cope with global on their own terms” (Saul/Austen, 2010:37). “Nollywood’s narratives provide answers they seek to the many questions of everyday existence in a brutal post-colonial city such as Lagos” (Saul/Austen, 2010:37). According to M. Saul and R. A. Austen “the Nigerian video films have long begun to live a life of their own”. Nollywood films have become popular in Congo and other African countries, such as Kenya. In the latter country, Nollywood has influenced local dress styles to the extent that even politicians started wearing Nigerian clothing (Saul/Austen, 2010:61).

“Nollywood is too big to ever die: it is the second biggest industry in the world and it will eventually be seen as one of the world’s major film cultures” (Saul/Austen, 2010:15). The Europeans have inveterate view that Africans cannot create their films without European support. African films that get Europeans’ attention are the ones supported by Europeans and of the type that are shown in FESPACO. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Nollywood seeks to transform this stereotype created by Europeans what African film is supposed to be. Apart from the criticism for the poor quality of Nollywood films, it needs to be appreciated

for its existence. Nollywood phenomenon serves as an opposition to usually unjustified statement that there is no independent African cinema. On the contrary, as fully independent industry Nollywood is not looking for support in the EU. It proves that Africans are capable of creating their own industries.

6. Case of Kenya: Issues of Production, Distribution, and Consumption

As mentioned earlier the colonial period in Kenya was not different from other countries in Africa. Cinema was used to spread didactic messages throughout the country and depict an exotic Kenyan wildlife to the Western world. These films were mainly about hunting and travelling as is the case of fictional films such as *Mogambo*, J. Ford, USA (1953), *The Snows of Kilimanjaro*, H. King, USA (1952), *Out of Africa* S. Pollack, USA (1985), *King Solomon's Mines*, C. Bennett / A. Marton, USA (1950) that showcased the conflict of Europeans fighting with dangerous jungle animals, enjoying the breath-taking scenery, and interacting with indigenous people. Earlier in this thesis it was discussed how cinema in general and mobile cinema in particular served for spreading a message of development to Kenyans.

In a previous chapter we discussed mobile cinema in Kenya during colonial times. After the end of the colonial regime mobile cinema was taken over by the East African Film Services, which tried to make mobile cinema more commercial (Grieverson/MacCabe, 2011:119). Some of Kenya Film Commission functions included the development of mobile cinema systems in rural Kenya. During the 1980s these films reached 500 rural areas a month, attracting audiences of over 40,000 people every evening (Diawara, 1992:117). And thanks to advertising these films were free of charge. Nowadays mobile cinema continues to be shown in Kenya and other African countries. It is usually supported by local governments, the EU, and international NGOs. Mainly, mobile cinema travels through towns and villages showing African and European films. During these sessions other films are screened addressing didactic topics, such as hygiene, AIDS, environment, violence, corruption, and so on. Mobile cinema is aimed at a general audience which is unable to gain access to culture due to their geographic and social isolation (Culture and Development - Action and Impact 2012). For instance, 90% of the population in Kenya is rural, and mobile cinema is the way to reach Kenyans in villages.

“Evenings of mobile cinema are above all an area for socializing; where residents meet at the village square so as to enjoy a festive moment as one” (Culture and Development - Action and Impact 2012). A typical mobile cinema evening “will involve a cultural show, the screening of a work of fiction or a documentary raising awareness on a particular social issue followed by a discussion, and then an African feature-length production using digital technologies”, (Culture and Development - Action and Impact 2012). “Also, discussions are held on sensitive issues such as eradicating AIDS so as to enable viewers to be informed and

to express themselves on issues which affect them”, (Culture and Development - Action and Impact 2012).

The question remains if nowadays mobile cinema is the same tool of propaganda and a way of demonstrating European superiority. On the one hand, European films showed in African villages might not be relevant to local people; on the other hand, for the time being this is the only way cinema can reach remote areas in Africa. In addition, Kenyan filmmaker Judy Kibinge does not think that “message-driven cinema is completely unimportant” (Kibinge, 2012). According to her, in the rural areas “people really watch and learn from them, especially through mobile cinema” (Kibinge, 2012).

Before looking at the EU support programme to Kenyan films it is necessary to mention Kenya’s socioeconomic background. Nowadays, being a regional hub for trade and finance, Kenya plays an important role in the East African regional development. However, governance, uneven commitment to reform, and a complex political situation have hampered economic growth and equitable social development (EuropeAid, 2012). Evidently, these conditions have contributed to the slow growth of the film industry. One can wonder what about films made by Kenyans. There are films sponsored by Europeans such as bigger budget films that are supported by the EU and that the media write about, films that are screened in festivals, such as *Soul Boy*, Kenya, Germany (2012) by H. Essuman, *Togetherness Supreme*, Kenya (2009), by N. Collett *Ndoto za Elibidi*, Kenya (2011) by K. Wa Ndung’u/N. Reding and *The Captain of Nakara*, Kenya (2012) by Bob Nyanja. These films funded by foreign agencies aspire to be shown on the big screen, are shot more cinematically, and have high production values. Also, few independent filmmakers have been emerging recently who usually struggle years to raise funds for implementing their cinematic projects. Jinna Mutune discussed in further chapters is an instance of this category of young, aspiring, and ambitious independent filmmakers in Kenya.

The local film industry Riverwood that targets specifically Kenyan audiences is also worth mentioning. Riverwood does not have international release. The only films recognized internationally were supported by foreign funding agencies as is the case of *Kibera Kid*, N. Collet, USA, Kenya (2006) or *Soul Boy*, H. Essuman/T. Tykwer, Kenya, Germany (2010).

Further in this work it will be discussed that Riverwood, being very vibrant and driven by businessmen like Nollywood, has contributed to reviving film industry in Kenya. Riverwood understands its market and has come up with methods to tackle piracy and somehow have its audiences buying originals, and such originals are available. These films are made for lower

budgets, and successful ones like *The Race*, M. Kimani, Kenya (2010) have had real returns and are known and more appreciated in local market than outside. The next chapter will focus more precisely on the phenomena of the Riverwood and its significance to Kenyan film industry.

“Economically the film industry brings in about 3 billion Kenyan shillings annually” (Bonyo, 2011:43). As we know, culture, skills, labour supply, hotel, food industries, and financial services are the areas that cinema industry contributes to. During the last African Broadcast and Film Conference in Nairobi in 2012, despite all struggle that cinema industry faces, organizers were, however, optimistic by saying that Kenya has the potential to become the epicentre of the creative economy in the region considering the growing number of multinational companies that have moved their regional headquarters to Kenya (Film Biz Africa, 2012). However, in spite of the profusion of talents on the continent, as well as the richness of cultural traditions and heritage, there has been limited commercialization of African cultural and artistic creations in both domestic and foreign markets (Luesby, 2011:6). Furthermore, Anglophone Africa compared to former French African colonies lacks cinema production. According to M. Diawara (1987), “British colonialism seemed strictly business and never succeeded or tried assimilation which was linked to French economic colonialism” (Diawara, 1987:4). Moreover, Anglophone Africans have not been exposed to film culture. In Francophone countries, for example, French embassies have cinema venues where Africans can see contemporary films from Europe. The British embassies in Africa lack such cultural activities. Also, the scientific study of African cinema and the EU’s support provided to it mainly includes Francophone African countries. Today’s African filmmakers come from all over the continent but not from East Africa⁸ (Dresch, 2012:4). At least this is what one might easily assume when reading literature and media on African cinema. However, nowadays there are various Kenyan filmmakers that cannot be overlooked.

This thesis examines a case of the EU funded Kenyan film comparing it to a non EU funded film from the same country. The ACP Films Programme film was sponsored in Kenya in 2012. Also, the reason to include Kenya in this study is because it is very often excluded when studying the EU support to African cinema. As mentioned before, because of its small number of films created in comparison to other regions East African cinema, it is underrepresented among scholars of African filmmaking.

⁸ East Africa comprises Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, and Kenya. The latter with the capital Nairobi is the economical and cultural hub of East Africa.

However, over the past decade, film industry has started to develop in Kenya. Various forms of local filmmaking are increasingly emerging as well as activities aimed at training young aspiring filmmakers and supporting the distribution and exhibition of local films. On the whole, these initiatives could be observed as aiming to show that Kenyans can create their own films, as film exhibition in this region has historically been dominated by colonial films, such as the productions of the Bantu Educational Film Experiment, which were mentioned earlier in this work. The local video market Riverwood as well as the festival film productions in the East African community offers a great possibility for filmmakers to tell their own stories. Unfortunately, the technical and aesthetic aspects of home videos often lack quality (Dresch, 2012). Also, as other African countries, Kenya is dominated by Hollywood and Bollywood films. As mentioned previously, due to the natural beauty of East Africa, it has also been a location for foreign films which mostly use the landscape as an exotic backstage to tell Western stories.

Despite the fact that Eastern Africa produces fewer films compared to Francophone Africa, nowadays more and more films are released in Kenya. According to the Film Biz Africa editor C. Orjiako, “Kenya is fully capable of creating one of the highest income generating film industries in the world; the only missing element is an interregional organization whose mandate is solely to market, distribute and sell Kenyan productions locally” (Film Biz Africa, 2012). Furthermore, Kenyan film producers lack professional training. The sad reality is that the local content is not as much appreciated as the international content. Piracy is another issue for Kenyan filmmakers.

One of the most renowned Kenyan filmmakers and producers Wanuri Kahiu stated that her biggest challenge is the financing of the film during preproduction, production and post-production (World Intellectual Property Organisation, 2010). According to her, it has always been a challenge sourcing for funds in Kenya. There is no particular entity in Kenya that deals with local film distribution. Nevertheless, despite all the challenges mentioned, the filmmaker believes that Kenyan film industry has a great potential World Intellectual Property Organisation, 2010).

According to the Nigerian playwright W. Soyinka, Kenya has the opportunity to become the filmmaking hub and film distribution destination in Africa (Orjiako, 2012:10). He expressed hope that Kenyans could overtake South Africa and Nigeria, which have set the pace for others. W. Soyinka also hopes that the Kenyan government will do its part by providing the necessary conducive work environment, building more television channels, and ensuring the

legal framework to prevent piracy, thus enabling Kenyans to tell their own story through films (Orjiako, 2012:11).

A young Kenyan filmmaker Joash Mageto says that filmmaking is very costly in Kenya. It is impossible to walk into somebody's office and ask them to finance your project (Orjiako, 2012:11). The other biggest challenge is the lack of producers who buy scripts and seek funds for shooting them. Kenya has few NGOs that provide funding, but the problem is that they end up pushing their agenda instead of local filmmakers (Film Biz Africa, 2011:30).

Previous chapters of this thesis outlined the insights of various scholars and African filmmakers about the struggle that African filmmakers are facing when seeking for foreign funding for their films. Kenyan filmmakers are no exception facing a dilemma: whether to seek for European funds and compromise their creative intentions or try to raise funds locally and spend years and years trying to accomplish their cinematic projects. The EU has been criticized for trying to impose its agenda when supporting arts in Africa regardless of the needs of local cultural industries. The analyzed Kenyan case will confirm some of these criticisms, but it will also show that sometimes it is possible to achieve a balanced dialogue between the funding agency and the filmmaker.

The majority of Kenyan filmmakers seek for funds from sponsors, who often demand the editorial control or the copyright ownership of the project (Luesby, 2011:5). In Kenya film production has seen rough times as the local media have opted for the easily available Nollywood films and the market is not fully aware of what to expect from Kenyan films. Hence, although production is taking place, marketing and promotion are very poor (Wainaina, 2011:17). There are many films that have been produced in Kenya, featured in international film festivals, yet unknown of Kenyans themselves. The success of Riverwood is another aspect to consider. What are the producers of Riverwood doing that other producers are not doing? It is all about telling stories related to local people, making their products easily accessible and connecting with people.

6.1. Riverwood

Film studies have been mainly focusing on Francophone African countries. Therefore, the aim of this dissertation is to present a wider geographical sample considering the European Union support to African cinema. The reason to talk about Kenyan case in this work is twofold, considering the need to include the usually excluded East African filmmaking and to analyze two specific Kenyan films: one supported by ACP Films Programme and another one – produced with Kenyan funds. Also, it is impossible to exclude Riverwood which is an

undeniable part of Kenyan cinema and which has been contributing to change of the European notion that African cinema cannot develop without European aid.

Riverwood is the Kenyan equivalent to the Nigerian Nollywood and is often called the Hollywood of Kenya. It has become the hub for local Kenyan film productions. Riverwood is named after River Road, which is considered to be a notorious and dangerous place in Nairobi where you can literally buy everything. Riverwood is known for filmmaking and DVDs distribution. Films are shot in two, three days and edited in a week, making around from 20 to 30 and more films every week (Edwards, 2008:6). It adds up to 1.000 films a year selling 500.000 copies at 200 Kenyan shillings, which is around 2.60 USD (Banda, 2009:40). The speed of production, with film shooting ranging from a few days to a few weeks, is imperative for an industry where a typical film costs around 1,000 USD to produce (Banda, 2009:40). These films make their money back by going straight to DVD's and being sold, often alongside pirated films from the USA and other larger film industries, in over 60,000 locations that are the part of an elaborate distribution network (Mwaniki, 2011:30). Videos that are not sold for home viewing find their way to informal video halls, small tumbledown village shacks, where screenings run for about 20 Kenyan shillings (25 USD cents) (Vourlias, 2011:14). The whole industry is totally self-sufficient (Banda, 2009:40).

Riverwood as Nollywood can be criticized for the quality of the films it produces. However, no one can deny the fact of the importance of this industry. Producers in Riverwood range from extremely amateurish to professional ones. They spend incredibly small amounts of money and still come up with feature-length films – although the quality of the films relates, as one can expect, to the amount of money spent (Banda, 2009:39).

Riverwood has been generating both earnings and controversies about its quality and place in Kenyan society. M. Saul and R. A. Austen (2010) call this denial of popular African cultures a “deep sense of intellectual arrogance” (Saul/Austen, 2010:26). The reasons of criticism of Riverwood come both from sometimes unconsciousness and sometimes deliberate Western ignorance of African culture and society. This denial of social significance of Riverwood or Nollywood can be attributed to the heritage of colonialism in Africa. Europeans have been educated in rather simplistic manner about their former colonies. The usual image of Africans has been based on folkloristic perspectives, thinking that Africans only dance and sing traditional songs. Therefore, Riverwood culture might be something difficult to understand and accept for Europeans. This critical European opposition tries to emphasize the

shortcomings of Riverwood. This is due to the fact that Europeans are not keen to accept the fact of the independent development of such African cinema industries as Riverwood. The industry was born in the late 1990s, when stand-up comedians began recording their live sets on “the cheap, handheld cameras that were starting to proliferate in the Kenyan market” (Vourlias, 2011:14). Nowadays Riverwood is known for producing films faster than they are scripted (Kabukuru, 2012:33). Kaburuku argues that “if the production values were shoddy, these Riverwood precursors managed to tap into a desire for local storytelling and performances” (Vourlias, 2011:14). Regardless of the criticism of Riverwood being a place of low quality films and piracy, today it has emerged as “Kenya’s film capital” (Kabukuru, 2012:33).

As a matter of fact, filmmakers that sell well in Riverwood do not understand when other artists claim that Kenyans do not buy films. Once again, many would question the quality of the contents of Riverwood films but no one can deny that these contents are being sold. Let us not forget that, for instance, Hollywood also has many low quality films, a fact that is sometimes overlooked. Riverwood producers understand their audience and they know what this audience wants to watch. P. Mwaniki (2011) argues that it is not only the price that keeps the industry growing. “If one does not like what you are doing, even if one gave me his or her DVD for free, I would not like it; just because something is cheap it does not mean people would buy it” (Mwaniki, 2011:30). Riverwood as Nollywood has managed to tell their own stories and to capture the imagination of their audiences at very low budgets (Banda, 2009:39).

Riverwood films are selling because people can identify themselves with them. The films created in Riverwood are basically connected to the lives of people, entertain them and reflect the Kenyan way of life. Apart from that, they are a new form of employment for many people. “When one is making a film, one needs people: one employs very many people” (Banda, 2009:40). Indeed, it is a real way of getting rid of poverty. “Riverwood is commercial, therefore, self-sustaining” (Banda, 2009:40). “The sector has grown well in the last decade when media started paying more attention to local contents” (Kabukuru, 2012:33). In addition, according to W. Kabukuru (2012) there are indicators of the sector becoming a key pillar in the economy. However, one needs to keep in mind that training and funding are needed for development of this industry. A reference to the young aspiring Riverwood actor Mark Kaiyre confirms the European funding issues discussed earlier in the work. When asked if the EU would ever support Riverwood films, the actor expressed his

concerns by saying that, once the EU comes in, it may interfere with the script of the film in order to suit their own benefit hence killing the creativity of the story (Kaiyre 2013).

Opposing the criticism regarding the poor quality of Riverwood films, one needs to keep in mind the economical background of the country. Instead of only criticizing, one could consider positive aspects of this kind of industry. For the moment this is the only way for a local approach to filmmaking: combining low-cost digital cameras and film editing software on personal computers, with small budgets and fast turn-around times (Kabukuru, 2012:7). Films are made on location using local people. These factors make filmmaking accessible and within reach of more people. Kenyan filmmakers Bob Nyanja and Jinna Mutune appreciate the existence of Riverwood as a form of cultural expression for Kenyan society. However, both filmmakers argue that the Kenyan film industry needs to grow to the next level in terms of technology and quality. According to young aspiring Kenyan filmmaker Jinna Mutune, “it is very positive that in Kenya something as Riverwood exists, it proves that Kenyans are able to create their own cinema industry, but now it is time to prove that Kenyans are also able to create quality films” (Mutune, 2012).

The question remains if the European Union support programmes will ever be interested in such cinema industry as Riverwood. Firstly, because it is targeted to popular masses in Kenya and it can be misunderstood by European audiences; secondly, Riverwood filmmakers do not emphasize the negative aspects of Kenyan society such as diseases or women’s rights that are frequently used in Europe- supported films as a way of justifying European intervention. Thirdly, Europeans have been trapped in the perspective of colonial education which underestimates African abilities.

Project “Riverwood 20” was initiated with the aim of bringing this industry to the next level. One of the main objectives of the project is “to improve negative image of low quality films coming from Kenya” (Edwards, 2008:7). The initiators, national and international film producers, of the project believe that Kenya has a unique way of telling stories, but it lacks technological and financial means to produce high quality films. Riverwood proves that there are excellent stories being told, but “formulating a story and creatively bringing out the true aspect of what do you want to bring out is lacking” (Edwards, 2008:8). Therefore, there should be a possibility for Kenyan filmmakers to have professional training in their own country which would be the first step in building a self-sustaining, local film industry in Kenya.

The power of the creative industries to create jobs and wealth has been a focus of the European Union's Culture for Development programme (Culture and Development - Action and Impact, 2012:6). However, in the guidelines of ACP Films Programme there are requirements for European directors and editors regarding participation in sponsored African films, which means that the jobs that could be created in African countries actually go to Europe. As mentioned previously, the EU support to African filmmaking leads to restrictions attached in terms of African filmmakers' creative visions; whereas Riverwood, with or without its shortcomings, proves that African people are able to create their own industries and jobs. "Westernized stories are demeaning Kenyan culture" (Edwards, 2008:8). Moreover, as Edwards (2008) notices, "it would be a shame to see Kenya produce films that are imitations of Western stories" (Edwards, 2008:8).

There have been constraints in terms of understanding and appreciating the wealth that Riverwood is creating. Riverwood contributes to expanding the notion of African cinema and shows the positive business aspects of filmmaking. According to the Kenya Film Commission "Kenyan film industry has the ability to create 250.000 jobs and brings some 500 million USD into economy annually" (Kenya Film Commission, 2012). It is extremely important in a country where unemployment rate strikes up to 40% (Index Mundi, 2012). The cultural economy is usually perceived in terms of museums and archives. W. Kabukuru (2012) invites us to move away from a cultural economy to a creative economy. Riverwood has been turning art into something friendly and financially attractive. This industry contributes to breaking the notion of African cinema as being ethnographic or of the NGO type. "Film business brings intellectual property rights, advertising and, therefore, ties certain dynamism that is not ethnographic or what has been brought from past" (Kabukuru, 2012:33).

"Everyone here will evolve to the next level at some stage," P. Mwaniki claims optimistically about the industry defending the role of Riverwood (Mwaniki, 2012:29). However, he emphasizes that for this to be made easy, and therefore to develop Kenyan film in general, there needs to be an enabling environment (Mwaniki, 2011:30). For instance, Kenya needs to strengthen the capacity of professional training: "we need to scale up training on various aspects of filming – scripting, photography and all that, we need to establish a film fund" (Nordahl, 2012:14).

Obviously Kenya, as many other African countries, lacks support for cinema from their own governments and therefore seeks for funding in Europe. However, EU sponsored films fail to contribute to boosting significantly the local film industry or its sustainability, because they are not shown in Africa and therefore do not contribute to the local cinema industries. Therefore, as long as Kenyans do not own the entire filmmaking process it cannot get to the next level. Films are sponsored by the EU, but questions remain if this support brings actual benefit to the country by boosting its economy. “Riverwood has started protecting its creative rights of filmmakers and building a financially sustainable industry” (Banda, 2009:40). “Film industry is a mirror to see yourself and to know who you are; if you don’t have that mirror to see yourself, you are lost” (Banda, 2009:40). The EU could share its expertise with Kenya and other African countries in re-shaping their policies to take cultural industries into consideration. Riverwood has been growing because, as mentioned previously, its contents appeal to Kenyan audiences. Obviously, to shoot a film one needs people and Riverwood has been employing local people. In contrast, the EU funding bodies have been criticized for bringing their own European crew instead of employing local staff. One could ask how the filmmaking technical staff can learn skills if they are not given a chance. Furthermore, as argued throughout this dissertation, the EU is firstly concerned with showing the films in Europe to mark their presence in various international film festivals. Instead, the EU could support its funded films’ marketing them to local African audiences. In this manner films could generate returns and funds required to produce the next film and move the cinema industry forward.

Copyright has been one of the biggest issues for the Riverwood industry. Boosting the creation/production of cultural goods and services in the ACP countries has been one of the objectives of the European support programmes that was mentioned in the previous chapters. Therefore, these programmes lack a more practical approach and a genuine desire to contribute to boosting firstly local film industries. One step could be assisting in the implementation of a copyright law instead of concentrating on showing the films in international festivals. This is, again, one more step in guaranteeing that filmmakers are paid for their films screenings and are able to generate funds to invest in their next film.

Notwithstanding the vibrant and promising Riverwood’s industry today, Kenyan filmmakers lack the technical support and funds for producing and marketing their films. Some of them take a risk and apply for funds in Europe. Others believe that it is crucial to be independent and struggle years and years to finish their projects. The EU support has been a recent feature

in Kenyan cinema. Here, as in the majority of other African countries, the national government has not showed much support for this industry. There has been very few literature and on Kenyan films and their funding. Therefore, it is only possible to make fragmented insights analyzing Kenyan cinema.

6.2. ACP Films Programme in Kenya

Kenyan filmmakers as well as the majority of other African filmmakers are facing a dilemma: whether or not to apply for the foreign money to create their films. If seeking for foreign funds, they are subject to follow what funding agencies require. If not looking for financing abroad, they end up struggling to make a film for years and years. As mentioned before, Kenya, being an Anglophone country, according to N. F. Ukadike (2002), does not get so much funding as compared to French speaking African countries, “whose former colonial master created a film supporting mechanism from which filmmakers can source funding for a film idea” (Ukadike, 2002:42).

However, some sporadic European Union’s support programmes for Kenyan films have been implemented recently. Among other African countries’ films under the 9th European Development Fund the ACP Films Programme financed *O grande Kilapy* by Zézé Gamboa, Angola (2011) and *Margarida* by Licino Azevedo , Mozambique (2011). It also supported *The Captain of Nakara* by Bob Nyanja, Kenya (2012).

The latter film is based on a play written by the German playwright Carl Zuckmayer (1931) called *The Captain of Kopernick*. The Kenyan playwright Cajetan Boy was selected by the ACP Films Programme after attending a scriptwriting workshop at the Goethe Institut⁹ in Nairobi and he adapted the play into what became *The Captain of Nakara*. The film is based on the legendary Kwetu, a typical 70’s African military dictator” (Film Kenya Magazine, 2012:13). It has been marketed as a romantic comedy about how to survive in a country where it is estimated that the average citizen pays 16 bribes per month (Film Kenya Magazine, 2012:13). As already noted, this was the first Kenyan film to be funded under the banner of the EU ACP Films Programme.

European media has drawn a positive and promising picture of the film. “Famous writer Cajetan Boy and the outstanding producer Bob Nyanja have teamed up to produce the most

² The Goethe-Institut is the cultural institute of the Federal Republic of Germany with a global reach. It promotes knowledge of the German language abroad and foster international cultural cooperation. It also conveys a comprehensive picture of Germany by providing information on Germany’s cultural, social and political life.

hilarious film with a very captivating storyline” (Kang’ethe, 2011:6). According to Oliver Thau, who was the German film producer and managed the film’s postproduction process, “it was heartening to see Kenyan filmmakers taking on a comedy genre and doing an amazing job” (Kenya Film Magazine, 2012). Furthermore, according to the producer, “supposedly what works is the collaboration between Kenyan and foreign film production companies because this allows for certain standard to be maintained” (Film Kenya Magazine, 2012). However, the Kenyan creative team’s experience revealed their frustration for being excluded from the postproduction process of the film.

The film was crowned as the best feature length film at the International Kenya Film Festival 2012. It received various international film festival prizes. In contrast, the film has not captured any significant attention internally, as it was not even shown in the biggest Kenyan cinema theatres. Also, the stakeholders behind the film revealed various conflicting aspects in what concerned the filmmaking process and its funding institution. For these reasons the objective was to interview the stakeholders of the film and to understand if support from the EU influenced the film contents as well as what response the film had in African and European audiences.

Foremost, B. Nyanja emphasized extremely complicated application process. He mentioned that one would need to hire somebody full-time just to work for applying for the European funds (Nyanja, 2012). As long as the Kenyan government does not have any policy regarding national cinema, applying for European funds seems to be one of the most realistic ways to obtain necessary finances for producing a film. Equally, according to the KIFF CEO Charles Asiba, it is very complicated for an African without any contacts in Europe to apply for ACP Films Programme funds. He applied for the ACP films programme for film marketing and distribution with a cinematic project and with the support of KIFF organized by him. From his own experience he had to get acquainted with a 150 pages document, and it took him more than a month to conclude the application. However, he was not granted the support. Also, C. Asiba observes that the ACP films programme grants go mostly to Francophone African countries. Even the application documents are released in French and only after some weeks translated into English (Asiba, 2013).

Turning to the goals of the programme, ACP Films Programme works to encourage “emergence of new talents” (European Union 2007). However, requirements of the programme stipulate that “the candidates must have stable sources of finance and adequate level of technical and management resources” (EU, 2008). It is easy to understand that not

even young but the majority of experienced African cinema talents would not be able to have the adequate financial, technical or management resources. Therefore, the European partner for film production steps in and, obviously, possesses financial advantage over Kenyan counterparts.

As mentioned previously, the candidates for the ACP Films Programme have to be “audiovisual productions companies based in an ACP country or in an European country which hold the rights for the proposed project and are associated with a filmmaker who is a citizen of the ACP country” (EU, Programme of support for ACP cinema issued by the European Development Fund, 2003). In the case of *The Captain of Nakara* there were two film producing companies: one European and one Kenyan. It turned out that the European film producing company was the key player in terms of selecting Kenyan partners: script writer, film director, and Kenyan film producing company.

B. Nyanja assured that he did not feel any direct constraints on the contents (B. Nyanja, 2012). However, clashes between the European donors and the Kenyan filmmaker were unavoidable when trying to combine a film for two different audiences. Also misunderstandings were inevitable when trying to match two producers from different cultures and with different perceptions of the final results of the film, especially when the European producer had the biggest control over the project. It is doubtful that Europeans know better what the Kenyan audience needs, especially when working with such a specific genre as comedy. Comedy and humour in general are not easy to bring across. Humour is always very critical and sometimes it does not transfer from one country to another at all. A particular humour is associated with a particular country as it is attached to experiences that people in other countries do not have. According to B. Nyanja, the clash between African and European perceptions of how a film should look like is inescapable (Nyanja, 2012). For example, Kenyans prefer a slow pace of storytelling, while the European way of storytelling is different from the African one (Nyanja, 2012). Moreover, the filmmaker was concerned that he would be condemned by a Kenyan audience for showing a “European story” (Nyanja, 2012).

In Bob Nyanja’s case the script was already written and he applied to the ACP Films Programme for the production of film. Kenyan and German producers worked on this project. As already noted, the latter had the biggest influence in making the film. Therefore, according to B. Nyanja, he was trapped in the situation where he did not have any control on the postproduction and in this way it appeared that he did not own the film. When asked when and where his film would be shown, the filmmaker responded that he “did not know and did

not have any control of the film's postproduction" (B. Nyanja, 2012). Surely that is very frustrating for a filmmaker.

As a matter of fact, a dose of criticism followed the premiere of the film in Kenya. "There were long-winded scenes, a script that failed to deliver, and the actors did not seem convincing enough" (Waweru, 2012:14). The film also was lacking the "distinct cinematography familiar with other B. Nyanja's works" (Waweru, 2012:14). Furthermore, film director B. Nyanja was not present during its premier during Kenya International Film Festival KIFF in October 2012. The filmmaker's premeditated absence was a sign that he felt that he did not own the film. He explained this gesture by saying that he was not proud of the film, adding that he was not involved in the story, and in the postproduction (Waweru, 2012:14). "The script was predetermined and coming in, he tried to put in a way it could be presentable to make it for a modern African audience" (Waweru, 2012:14). One of Kenyan film producers went further by saying that "*The Captain of Nakara* is one of the films you watch and forget about" (Waweru, 2012:14). In contrast to the response to the film in Kenya, it received a rather different appraisal in Europe. European critics presented the film as "romantic, funny, entertaining - a potential classic" (ACP Films Programme, 2012). There is an obvious contrast between the Kenyan and European audiences.

The premiere of this film took place at the Pan African Festival in Los Angeles in 2012. It was nominated for an African Film Academy Award and shown in Montreal Film Festival, Warsaw Film Festival. Also, the film won prizes at KIFF in 2012 and FESPACO in 2013. However, the film was unknown among Kenyan audience as it was not screened in major Kenyan cinema theatres. Once more, this confirms criticisms regarding film distribution that were mentioned before. By supporting this film the ACP Films Programme intended to contribute to boosting the local film industry. However, one wonders how it could promote local filmmaking if the film was not even shown in the major cinema theatres in Kenya.

As outlined earlier, European support programmes to African cinema have been "aiming to promote African film access to markets at different levels – local, regional, intra-ACP, European and international" (ACP Films Programme, 2010). A decade ago M. Diawara wrote that not only film production but also distribution in Africa had faced ruthless monopolistic exploitation by European companies (Diawara, 1992:2). From the experience with the ACP Films Programme in Kenya it seems that not much has changed today. Firstly, the film had resonance in Europe, not in Kenya. It leaves one wondering why this support programme aiming to promote African film access to firstly local and then international

market appears to be concerned above all with pushing the film in Europe, not Kenya. Secondly, if the programme aimed to “respond to the creativity of African filmmakers”, the adaptation of German story prompted that this story would be closer to a European audience (ACP Films Programme, 2010). Thirdly, the programme aimed to “contribute to the emergence of new talents and perpetuation of generations of ACP filmmakers” (ACP Films Programme 2010). However, there was no proper marketing of the film in Kenya. Hence, obviously the film had not had a chance to try to succeed in Kenya, thereby generating returns that could enable the Kenyan filmmaker to invest in his future films.

D. Moyo (2009) in her book about Western aid to Africa criticizes foreign donors by saying that they have tended to tie aid in three ways: “procurement; the donor can reserve the right to preselect the sector or project that their aid would support; aid flows only as long as the recipient country agrees to set of economic and political policies” (Moyo, 2009:71). D. Moyo’s observations are close to the experiences in our analyzed case. Foremost, the recipient of the support had to collaborate with the European producer, who had the biggest influence in directing the film. The ACP films programme reserved the right to decide what would work for Kenyan audience. How can European producers know what is relevant for such ethnically diverse country as Kenya (43 tribes)?

Various African film scholars’ and African filmmakers’ arguments that Western donors are primarily interested in contributing to their own donor agenda were discussed earlier in this work. In the analyzed Kenyan case it was difficult to combine European and African tastes and perceptions of the film. Also, the Kenyan creative team felt left out in the backstage of post-production of the film. The analyzed Kenyan case illustrates a reality the majority of African filmmakers have been concerned with. The films that are funded by foreign institutions are distributed in foreign countries and recognized in European film festivals. Ukadike’s (2002) interviews held with various filmmakers also confirm Kenyan filmmaker’s concerns that the European donors tend to invest only in those films that can be promoted in academic environments and festivals usually outside Africa.

The analyzed film’s case helps us understand the practical aspects of the production and post-production of the supported film. It has been argued that Kenyan filmmakers are largely dependent on European technical personnel and facilities; and they are dependent on European goodwill for distribution. One is left to question if Kenyan filmmaking, like so many aspects of Kenyan economic activities, is dependent on European monies for production. Francophone African films have been dominating, something which has been

confirmed by Kenyans competing with Francophone filmmakers for funds. The technical crew was recruited in Europe. Film was also edited in Europe where the Kenyan filmmaker was not present, thus not being able to exert any kind of influence on the final cut.

There is no straight answer if the EU support is certainly contributing to boosting African cinema industry. However, some things have become clear witnessing the nuances of *The Captain of Nakara* B. Nyanja, Kenya (2012) postproduction. There was a lack of dialogue between the Kenyan creative team and the European producers. The Kenyan team was concerned with European producers dictating their rules with regard to the marketing and the screening of the film. However, some aspects had clearly not corresponded to the objectives of the programme that stipulate that it should be contributing to boosting the local film industry. Therefore, one would expect more involvement from Kenyan counterparts. However, the European partner had more editorial power over the film. Also, the marketing of the film was firstly concentrated in Europe. It seemed that the film was almost unnoticed in Kenya, where it firstly had to be pushed through various marketing channels. However, filmmaking is inevitably business, so all parties should agree before starting doing business. At the same time African filmmakers are free to choose whether to cooperate with foreign funders. Surely, in the case of receiving funding it is inevitable that there are aspects that filmmaker cannot compromise with funding agency what concerns his/her cinematic visions.

6.3.Babylon International EU in Kenya

To obtain a more precise view of the practical aspects of support programmes to African cinema we also held an interview with another Kenyan filmmaker who was granted European support. Ekwa Msangi-Omari is a Tanzanian-American filmmaker who grew up in Kenya and is based in New York. The filmmaker received training in script development from the EU Babylon Film International Programme. Ekwa Msangi-Omari was granted the mentioned training in 2011 among other filmmakers from Austria, France, Germany, and Nigeria. The selected filmmakers met in Europe to share their ideas about the development of their projects.

Unlike the ACP Film Programme's tedious application process, the Babylon application, according to E. Msangi-Omani, "is straightforward" (Msangi-Omari, 2012). Also, because it is only a script development grant "the EU does not infringe on how ones shoot it, and certainly does not have a European person who needs to shoot with an African filmmaker" (Msangi-Omari). Her film *Sweet Justice* was based on the script developed during the EU Babylon International Programme workshops.

The film cost is planned to be less than one million USD. *Sweet Justice* is about healing society after the post-election violence in Kenya in 2008. A college professor comes to Nairobi to collect her dead husband's remains and discovers that his death was actually a murder. According to E. Msangi-Omari, in Africa people also have dramatic, interesting picture and film type lives, not only in Europe (Msangi-Omari, Silicon Valley African Film Festival 2012). "There is something wrong getting acquainted with a country only through the news, through the tragedy, the animals and white peoples' experiences" (Msangi-Omari, 2012). There are many gaps left in this type of the situation and, according to the filmmaker, it is her work to fill this gap (Msangi-Omari, 2012). Nevertheless, the purpose of her filmmaking is not educating foreign people about what African lives are like, but for Africans to be "able to reflect on their own lives" (Msangi-Omari, Silicon Valley African Film Festival 2012). Africa has not been set for travelling; it is very expensive to travel inside Africa, "but now one does not need to travel physically anymore aside from foreign news to understand who we are" (Msangi-Omari, Silicon Valley African Film Festival, 2012). E. Msangi-Omari sees herself as one creating her own stories and how she, as an African, sees Africans. She set out to create films about East Africa told from an East African point of view. Everybody has seen documentaries about the wildlife of Kenya, Tanzania or Rwanda or white actors playing foreigners in a strange African land as their backstage. According to the filmmaker, there is still a big gap in what concerns films made by East Africans for East Africans except for films focused on the destitution and poverty that can be found in many African countries (Msangi-Omari, 2012). "In the West all too often the only thing shown on television or in films is that Africa is always on the knees, begging for something (Veronin, 2011:19). E. Msangi-Omari's films, instead of concentrating on the negativities of the continent, simply show African people living their own lives (Veronin, 2011:19).

In regard to the EU Babylon Film International, the filmmaker expressed her consent that it was interesting for her to be in an environment where there were "plans and funds for African film" (Msangi-Omari, 2012). The filmmaker regrets that there is no actual financial support to African cinema in the USA, while the EU provides various opportunities to African filmmakers in Africa and in the African Diaspora (Msangi-Omari, 2012). As E. Msangi-Omari notices, Americans are just using Africa as scenery for their own films. According to E. Msangi-Omari, "as a filmmaker seeking for funds, one needs to have creative ideas and values that you can and cannot compromise on" (Msangi-Omari, 2012). The filmmaker admits that there are plenty of strings attached to the EU support; however, she reassured that with the EU Babylon Film Programme she did not need to cast "Monique with a fake accent

as the gritty heroine from Kibera¹⁰ slums to get non-Africans to watch it” (Msangi-Omari, 2012). In other words, the filmmaker accepts that there might be certain requirements from the European sponsors; however she appreciates the support compared to the struggle for getting African film sponsored in the USA.

Despite the criticism of the European support to African cinema, Ekwa Msangi-Omari’s experience is positive. This filmmaker’s feedback proves that one cannot be categorical about the European support. She is aware that there are strings attached to any European financial support; however, she thinks that it is possible for an African filmmaker to attain balance, to know what he/she is ready to compromise in order to get funding and what cannot be compromised in terms of filmmaker’s vision of the film.

This point of view invites us to look at the European Union support as an opportunity not as a threat to filmmaker’s artistic freedom. After all, any filmmaker is free to choose how to source funding for his/her films. One could think that it is easier said than done in Africa where filmmakers take years and years to raise so much needed funds for their films.

These practical cases of the filmmaking in Kenya reveal different experiences of the people on the ground who sought for the European funding. The next section will refer to one of the most promising directors in Kenya who has proved that African directors can develop independently of foreign aid. This filmmaker’s hard work and determination enabled to raise funds from private investors and come up with highly applauded film locally and internationally.

6.4. A Case of Independent Kenyan Cinema

European policies that support African cinema state to be contributing to the sustainability and growth of African cinema industry. However, the ACP Films Programme’s case analyzed earlier in this work revealed that a funded film in Kenya has not contributed to boosting the country’s cinema industry. It had not generated funds in Kenya for the Kenyan filmmaker to be able to invest in his next film. Also, as mentioned previously, all the technical crew was European. It seemed that by sending European filmmaking technicians and screening film firstly in Europe the European donors were not very different from former colonialists who were assuring that their colonies would be dependent on Europe in developing their film production. Since colonial times Europeans have been following the idea that Africans need Europeans’ assistance in creating their own stories. However, a new generation of African filmmakers has risen opposing this stagnant paternalistic tendency. Some young and energetic

¹⁰ Kibera is the largest slum in Nairobi and the largest urban slum in Africa with 1,5 million people.

Kenyan filmmakers have come to break away from generalized and stereotypical beliefs about Kenya, its capabilities, realities, and people. With their energy and enthusiasm they have been breaking through all financial and technical odds and looking for alternative funds rather than those offered by European institutions.

One of the youngest Kenyan filmmakers, only 19 years old, Jeff Mohamed, believes that Kenyans can write creative and original stories (Film Biz Africa, 2012:31). According to him, Hollywood has somehow distracted how Africans tell their stories (Film Biz Africa, 2012:31). He observed that Kenyan youth is coming up with stories that will entertain their audiences and will help local filmmakers to discover how to strengthen their film industries so that they could bring some Oscars home (Film Biz Africa, 2012:31). Moreover, he believes that Kenyan filmmakers are naturally intelligent people and that they already have the technical expertise they need (Film Biz Africa, 2012:31).

According to the renowned Kenyan filmmaker Judy Kibinge "African filmmakers need to be leaders not followers" (Kibinge, 2012). Another discovery in the Kenyan film industry – the young and aspiring Kenyan filmmaker Jinna Mutune has taken the path to become one of the leading filmmakers in Kenya. She has directed and produced short films, music videos, and theatrical plays both in America and Africa. As J. Mutune says, her "purpose is to make multi-cultural films that would entertain, educate, and inspire the audience" (Mutune, 2012). She has been on the "dream journey that has both arduous moments and memorable magical moments where everything worked out" (Mutune, 2012). Film development can be unpredictable and full of unforeseen obstacles; and she believes that "the process of making an independent film in Africa is almost like trying to launch a rocket to the moon" (Mutune, 2012). However, after four years of hard work of raising funds locally and internationally she released her first feature film *Leo* (2012). Her hard work and determination stand in fair opposition to those filmmakers who complain about the foreign funding bodies, but keep coming back for their funds.

Leo, J. Mutune, Kenya, (2012) is set in Nairobi, a city that is a melting pot of East African culture, art, politics and commerce. It is a story about Maasai¹¹ boy raised in a low-income home achieving his dream against all odds (Mutune, 2012). *Leo* is a simple story that captures the essence of a child's heart still open to all the possibilities of achieving his dream in Kenya (The Standard, 2012). "So it is not a superhero film in the traditional sense, but as conversations about black filmmakers making films across genres *Leo* should benefit from

¹¹ The Massai people live in Southern Kenya with a population of approximately one half million.

that interest” (The Standard, 2012). The film states that “black bodies are inherently supernatural, given ability to survive and thrive in a white supremacist world, and thus, in that sense, they are indeed superheroes”; depicting Africans as potentially super-heroic, even if it is done metaphorically to emphasize some other salient point, or disseminate ideas about Africa and Africans that challenge dominant international perceptions of the continent and the people within it (The Standard, 2012).

“That is what this young Kenyan filmmaker wants to do for Kenya, and in large for Africa. She wants to sell the film as that ideal world, so that people will see it and say, ‘I want to try that food, I think I want to try that dress, I want to try their music, and did you see it in the film?’” (Mutune, 2012). J. Mutune thinks that she can actually make a film that will not only inspire people but also will brand Kenya. In other words, she hopes to present her country in a different way: “there is the traditional side, there are the skyscrapers, there are the Maasai people jumping¹²” (Mutune, 2012). “One of the reasons why the filmmaker really likes *Leo* is because it is not just about shooting a film that will re-brand her country, but it’s also about making a difference” (Mutune, 2012).

It is interesting to note that a part of the film was shot in Kawangware, which is a slum in Nairobi. In the media it appears as a completely miserable place with hungry people without future. J. Mutune showed another reality of this slum such as the Kawangware Primary School supermarkets, and the medical clinic. In *Leo*, J. Mutune, Kenya (2012) the slum was shown from a different angle: houses with electric equipment, decent furniture and even fish tanks, portraying different side of the slums in Nairobi.

Firstly, the goal of the film, according to J. Mutune, is to showcase the rich cultural diversity and economic potential of Kenya from various angles: a contemporary, modern and a traditional and historical Kenya, thus providing an evenly balanced presentation of what “true Kenya” is (Mutune: 2012). Secondly, the film aims at breaking away from stereotypical images and narratives that purportedly underestimate Kenya, its abilities, realities and people. Thirdly, the film presents a more positive story about Kenya (Mutune, 2012).

Furthermore, the film aims at educating through entertainment. The story inspires to dream, to believe in friendship, and to have faith (Mutune, 2012). The filmmaker emphasizes her objective to subtly “re-brand” Kenya, to present to the Western world the true realities of Kenya, with a narrative that is entertaining as well as inspiring (Mutune, 2012). Equally, the film aims at reaching out to the children of Africa to inspire them to big dreams and to fulfil

¹² The Maasai “jumping dance” is a particular dance performed by the men of the village, who leap into the air to show their strength and stamina as tribal warriors.

their destiny by allowing them to change the political and social landscape of the continent (Mutune, 2012). In addition, the film has partnered with the Kenya Library Service to use the glamour of the film to mobilize the people towards humanitarian causes promoting educational efforts in Kenya (Mutune, 2012). The filmmaker acknowledges that even with the growing wealth a large portion of Kenya is still in need; but assistance is needed, not hand-outs (Mutune, 2012). As the filmmaker states “Kenya needs support but it does not need to be patronized” (Mutune, 2012).

The filmmaker also states that private local and international film sponsors were captivated by the idea of attracting more investors into the country by showing the multicultural heritage, the great food that the country has, and the city of Nairobi which is the most prominent political and economical centre in East Africa (Mutune, 2012). Private investors, that she managed to find for the film, were interested in her idea of branding Kenya as country of hope and possibility. Moreover, she believes in the business angle of filmmaking, something which, according to the filmmaker, is usually missing from the African films sponsored by Western institutions (Mutune, 2012). Moreover, J. Mutune adds that, unlike the European funding bodies, private investors believed in the story and were more flexible in terms of the formal funding process (Mutune, 2012).

When asked if she ever applied or is planning to apply for foreign aid, Jinna Mutune was straightforward by saying that she was foremost discouraged by the tedious and bureaucratic application process within the European institutions (Mutune, 2012). Furthermore, the filmmaker emphasized that she would look only for private investors (Mutune, 2012). J. Mutune managed to raise funds in the USA and Kenya. According to her, investors in both countries were captivated by her idea to brand Kenya in a positive way (Mutune, 2012). Regarding the tendency of funding bodies taking over editorial control of the film J. Mutune explained that she is flexible if needed in terms of contents, but that she was aware of what she could and could not negotiate (Mutune, 2012).

Since the independence of African countries Europe’s genuine interest in supporting African cinema and empower Africans showing their own stories has been repeatedly questioned. J. Mutune’s case shows that it is more likely that Africans can be more interested in helping develop the African film industry. In her case, Kenyan private investors and the Kenyan diaspora in the USA were more heartily interested in promoting Kenya in a different way, as a country free of war and poverty, but with people that dare to dream and believe.

6.5. Screening of African Films in Kenya

The ACP Films, Programme, Media Mundus and other mentioned EU support programmes to African cinema aim at strengthening the circulation of African cinema within African audiences. However, various African film scholars and African filmmakers have been criticizing foreign financial support bodies for concentrating on marketing African films in Europe, rather than in Africa.

To verify that, my research included reviewing the programmes of major Nairobi cinema theatres and calculating how many national and other African films would be screened between January and September of 2012. The survey included three major Nairobi cinema theatres: Planet Media Westgate, Fox Cinema Sarit and Starflix Prestige Plaza.

During the mentioned period only two African films were screened in these major Nairobi cinemas: *Viva Riva*, Djo Tunda Wa Munga, DRC/Mali/Belgium (2011), and *Nairobi Half Life*, D. Tosh Gitonga, Kenya/Germany (2011). As already mentioned, the ACP Films Programme sponsored B. Nyanja's film *The Captain of Nakara*, Kenya (2012) that was not screened in the major Kenyan cinema theatres. Once again, this paradoxical situation raises the question about why it is almost impossible to watch an African film in Africa.

Furthermore, this brief experience in Nairobi's cinemas reflects the reality not only in Kenya, but all over the continent, and raises one question about this gap and about what can be done differently so that the support programmes could contribute more significantly to the sustainable growth of the African cinema industry.

The obstacles faced by African filmmakers are not limited to production. Distribution of African films is also extremely difficult. African films supported by the EU and, as it is stipulated in its programmes, targeted towards African audiences, are hardly screened in African cinema theatres, where, according to the foreign sponsoring agencies' point of view, they are seen as having limited box office appeal. However, if these programmes are dedicated to support African cinema industry, African films should be screened in Africa, where they do have the potential for receiving real mass audience attention.

For instance, the recent film *Nairobi Half Life* D. Tosh Gitonga, Kenya/Germany (2012) has generated attention and returns within Kenyan audiences. Kenyan and German producing companies have teamed up and focused on the film's marketing in Kenya. This enabled the screening of the film for over two months in the major Kenyan film theaters. Kenyan audiences embraced the film, as they could identify with the story of an urban and contemporary Nairobi.

However, the reality in Kenya revealed that most foreign sponsored films are not screened sufficiently. Yet, again this absurd situation can be explained by the fact of dependence, where donors have control over the distribution of the films. In general, African films are left for specific events: African film festivals and mostly in Europe or African theme programmes on television. Although organizers argue that these events promote African work by creating venues for it, they also serve inevitably to confine African films.

Also, I went to several film stores in the biggest Nairobi malls and also some street DVD sellers in search of a Kenyan film, such as latest and the most famous *Nairobi Half Life*, D. Tosh Gitonga, Kenya/Germany (2012) *Something Necessary*, J. Kibinge, Kenya (2012), and the film discussed in this paper *The Captain of Nakara*, B. Nyanja, Kenya (2012). I was expecting that these films would be easily available. When I asked for the most recent and the most famous Kenyan film, the film I was given was *Out of Africa*, S. Pollack, USA (1985) or *Constant Gardener* F. Meirelles, UK, Germany, USA, China (2005). For instance, *Out of Africa* is a film from several decades ago and not even of local content, only set in Kenya. Only street DVD sellers were disposing *Nairobi Half Life* D. Tosh Gitonga, Kenya/Germany (2012) which was very famous in Kenya in 2012.

Surely, they were selling pirated copies, which is another problem that African filmmakers face. This experience left me wondering why there is all this uproar about local films supported by various international funding organizations, but there is no film available at the end market for an ordinary Kenyan consumer. The reality shows that nothing has changed much from colonial times when Europeans were controlling postproduction and distribution of the films in Africa. Therefore, one is left wondering if it just empty promises and self-seeking objectives of international organizations that are supposed to be working for getting Kenyan stories to Kenyan people.

The only possibility to see more Kenyan films was during the last International Kenya Film Festival 2012. KIFF was established in 2006 with the objective of organizing an annual international film festival that would host films and filmmakers from the African continent and the Diaspora. KIFF comprises filmmakers, media and communication practitioners, performing artists, and other stakeholders in the film industry (Kenya International Film Festival, 2012). The Vision of KIFF is to position Africa on the global stage as a culturally proud continent, effectively expressing its humanity and rich heritage through its own story told by its own people (Kenya International Film Festival, 2012).

However, the lack of a permanent office space has been a huge handicap; this has led many stakeholders to view the festival as a private business (Asiba, 2013). The festival has not been able to attract funding for the office operations which includes the hiring of a relevant and skilled staff necessary for an effective festival management. Although the festival activities and mandate have grown, the funds to support the activities and the management infrastructure have been lacking. During the last two years the festival has survived on the personal donations of the KIFF Trust chairman, his film production company Bluesky, and the personal sacrifice from the festival director Charles Asiba, who has offered his services as festival director free of charge (Asiba, 2013).

Also, my research consisted of attending the 7th Kenya International Film Festival. Films from Kenya and other African and European countries were screened in various locations in Nairobi. Several locations opened their doors free of charge such as Goethe-Institute and Alliance Française, some of them needed to be paid, as was the case of the National Museum of Kenya.

Eventually, the films were not screened in the latter institution, because KIFF had not cleared the bills. It is a disappointment for anyone who hopes that this kind of events can become highly qualified and a reference not only in Kenya, but also in other African countries. The question remains if the Kenyan film industry, as any other African film industry, can sustain itself entirely without the European support. For the time being there is no exact answer. On the one hand, from the experience of the 7th Kenya International Film Festival, it seems that the cinema sector needs more organization and financial support. On other hand, from the rapidly growing Riverwood film production and the emergent Kenyan filmmakers, who have been presenting high standard of work, it looks like Kenya is able to have its own sustainable film industry.

The Kenyan case proves that African film screening, distribution and consumption are still a problem. Kenyan and African films in general are not screened in the biggest cinema theatres as distribution of majority of these films is controlled by the Europeans and ends up in Europe circuits and festivals. The EU cannot contribute to the building of an industry by mainly focusing on international audiences. Undoubtedly, it is important to receive international recognition. However, it becomes difficult to understand how it can have been possible to contribute to the filmmaking industry in Kenya if *The Captain of Nakara*, B. Nyanja, Kenya (2012) has not got a chance to return its money in its own region or continent. That is the issue that really matters.

7. Future Prospects

Through the previous lines I have tried to overview the current EU policies on African filmmaking and the road that has led to the present framework. African cinema has not been a priority of the European Union development policies. Still, today it is often left out of the development policy strategies due to lack of funding. However, during the recent years the EU has been taking steps towards recognizing it as an important aspect of the support policies to the African countries. As we have seen already, there are several recent EU programmes for financing African cinema. Even if they are modest compared to those of other EU financial support areas, the tendency in the last decade has grown in number as well as in scope as regards the EU support to African cinema. Nevertheless, there is still a long road to go and important challenges for EU to meet if it wants to improve the quality of its programmes in order to support the enhancement of the African film industries.

As N.F. Ukadike puts it: “African filmmakers have almost always labored under economic and political conditions that are at the best inhospitable and hostile” (Ukadike, 2002:12). Issues of film financing and distribution in Africa have been appearing frequently in the scholarly literature on African cinema and in conversations with African filmmakers. In fact, the future of African filmmaking cannot be separated from financial questions.

J. M. Teno claims that during the recent decade there has been a decline in the production of African films because of a decline in financing (Teno, 2001:6). As remarked earlier, the majority of African filmmakers have always been dependent on European public money for their productions. France, the major funder of African cinema, has significantly reduced the level of financing available for African films (Teno, 2001:7). The cinema budget from the French Ministry of Cooperation previously allocated exclusively for the African films is now distributed throughout all ACP and Latin American countries.

However, the cases analyzed in this dissertation show that neither the EU is reducing funding to African filmmaking nor independent African filmmakers seem to have less ambitious plans for the future. Even if the EU has been guaranteeing support to African filmmaking, the question lies in the quality, not quantity of the programmes. The great paradox is that even with the EU support to African cinema with regard to its development; in many cases it has not been accessible within African audiences. Is the EU supporting the right filmmaking? Is it actually contributing to sustainable growth of the African cinema industry? These are the issues that the EU policy makers should address if they are sincerely interested in enhancing the African film industries.

Even with the global economic crisis that has hit Europe tremendously, it does not seem that the money coming from EDF is going to dry up soon. EU programmes such as Media Mundus, Babylon International and ACP Films Programme analyzed in this thesis will most likely continue their work. All of these programmes have as aim to facilitate the access of African films to the international market. However, from the discussions with Kenyan film industry players it became clear that what is needed for the future of African filmmaking is a strong distribution network inside Africa.

Furthermore, the African audiovisual landscape has changed significantly over the last decades, mostly due to the impact of new technologies, such as digital television and video demand. As discussed earlier in this work, for instance, Nollywood and Riverwood have a market which has created a strong financial growth. The challenge of the future European programmes remains to address the needs of African film industries in order to adapt to this new landscape, and help it to find new ways to drive revenue to the African film industries.

A brighter and more stable future for African filmmaking cannot be imagined without strong distribution networks within the continent. As it has been remarked throughout this thesis, the EU has been focusing on facilitating African films' access to the European marketplace. As the EU states: "a key issue for African countries is the access to regional and international markets for their cultural products and services: there the EU can make a real difference" (ACP Films Programme, 2011). According to the EU: "firstly, the access to the European market of cultural goods and services is a capital issue" (ACP Film Programme, 2010). "In Europe we know that it is not always easy for African films to reach our shores and if there will be the political will to do so, we have also the tools to make this easier" (ACP Films Programme, 2011).

From the observations of various filmmakers and particularly from the case of ACP Films Programme's film in Kenya, it could be argued that, in contrast, the EU supported films already have a guarantee to be shown at international festivals and in European circuits. The critical shortage of African films shown is in Africa, not in Europe.

Moreover, professionals of the African film industry are concerned about the weak market position of African film productions in the world (3% vs. 70% compared to American films) and the distribution difficulties that their films face in domestic as well as international markets (Alarcon, 2011). "Today, film industries are thriving on the African continent, but the general consensus is that circulation channels for the productions are all but inexistent"

(Alarcon, 2011). This is one of the indications that African film distribution in the continent is of the major concern.

According to the South African filmmaker Lionel Ngokane, there is a future for African filmmaking if the distribution of African films gets organized (Ukadike, 2002:79). If Africans get their films distributed in Africa, it is possible to have a viable film industry (Ukadike, 2002:79). This means that when Africans produce films, they would be seen by the African audience, and the profits gained from screening could then be invested into new films, because there is no use of fighting so hard to raise money for making a film, if it does not get shown in Africa (Ukadike, 2002:79). To solve this problem, the filmmaker believes, that African governments need to be involved, even if it means creating new legislation that would mandate that the owners of cinemas have to show a certain number of African films (Ukadike, 2002:80).

Furthermore, the renowned filmmaker from Guinea-Bissau Flora Gomes also confirmed that the future of African filmmaking cannot be very far from the reality of Africans, the economic situation in Africa (Ukadike, 2002: 106). Africans need to be involved in distribution. As long as this does not happen, Africans will always need to turn to Europe for subsidies (Ukadike, 2002:106).

According to Malian filmmaker Cheick Omar Sissoko, Africans need a private company, the mission of which would be to establish distribution channels and cinemas (Ukadike, 2002:198). C. O. Sissoko also states that Africans need to ensure the artistic and financial autonomy of African cinema, because, according to him, the EU sources will eventually dry up (Ukadike, 2002:198). In addition, a Sudanese filmmaker, Gadalla Gubara rightly points out that Africans need to focus on national and continental problems in Africa (Ukadike, 2002:64). “Until Africans implement certain demands relevant to their development, the situation will not change; and if the situation does not change, the future of African filmmaking is going to face similar problems” (Ukadike, 2002:65).

The biggest financial obstacle for the African cinema is self-sufficiency. Efforts in many African countries to establish national cinema structures have not resulted in a viable industry. Filmmakers still need to apply for funds from the European institutions. The future of African cinema depends on practical issues of filmmaking in a context of also little financial support from the national governments.

The future of African cinema also depends on the political, economical, and social situation of Africa. Although African countries are now politically independent, but the EU still holds a

vast economical, political, and cultural influence over the continent. African politicians do not pay enough attention to the cultural sector with the excuse that there are more important areas to focus on in countries devastated by wars and famine. N. F. Ukadike (2002) notices that African politicians are afraid that “cinema would be used by filmmakers to manipulate political situations” (Ukadike, 2002: 57). They are afraid to support African filmmakers because cinema could be used against them: revealing their poor leadership, political games, and corruption.

The political will of African governments is needed for supporting their own countries’ film industries. On the one hand, Africans are dependent on European institutions support to their cinema, but on other hand, African countries still have little interest in assuming the responsibility for their own cinema. It is also important to notice that African distributors also have little interest in African cinema (Diawara, 2009:15). “It is considered as bad investment”, therefore African distributors prefer to show American or Asian films (Diawara, 2009:16). According to M. Diawara (2009) “from European side there is a question of mentality – African product is not appreciated; from the African side does not exist real policy of support to cinema, which is not only art, but also an industry” (Diawara, 2009:16). Optimistically, African governments will understand that cinema can also bring money, create jobs and also contribute to improving the image of the country.

According to N.F. Ukadike (2002) “if a new talent emerges he or she would probably be tempted to create for the European market” (Ukadike, 2002:42). Filmmakers are offered a financial support so he/she could stay under the European organizations’ supervision. Nevertheless, Africans have started to make films that reveal they believe in themselves.

In spite of the African governments being slow to support their own film industry, some African filmmakers are setting up the training structures for the next generation needs. Is it the time for African filmmakers to cut the “umbilical cord” with Europe? (Macbeth, 2012). It is easier said than done, because of the absence of national film institutions willing to finance training and production of African cinema. Still, African film is represented by the filmmakers trained in Europe to make films in European languages, financed by the European Union funds, and recognized by the European festivals.

Nevertheless, the situation seems to change slightly. Over the past ten years successful African filmmakers have been taking training centers into their own hands. These range from Maisha Film Lab in Kampala, Uganda founded in 2004 to Kilimanjaro Film Institute established in Arusha, Tanzania, offers training to candidates pursuing a career in cinema.

The Film School of South Africa (AFDA), which is based in Cape Town, has become a global leader in film training and it even runs its own annual film festival. These are only some examples in East Africa and South Africa without taking into consideration broader developmental prospects of the African cinema industry.

Further evidence of a better future for the African cinema is increasing every year with South African, Nigerian and Kenyan delegations present at the Cannes festival. In 2013 Kenya was for the first time invited to attend the 66th annual Cannes Film Festival. With the the Kenyan presence it was intended to showcase both the film industry of the country and the investment opportunities it represents.

Nigeria boasts being one of the world's biggest film industries and a recent generation of filmmakers has been seeking to elevate the industry through a movement they call "New Nigeria cinema" involving stronger story lines, higher production values and a more authentic depiction of African experience (Daily Nation, 2013). No doubt that there will be more great stories coming from Africa. Such young and independent African filmmakers as discussed earlier in the case of Kenya have been drawing a picture of bright future for the African filmmaking. Today and in the future, African cinema is on the way to develop a new more sustainable industry, adopting new technologies and addressing urban African cultures. The question remains if the EU will still look at the Africans as people in need or as potential partners. It is up to the developers of European policies to decide if they are willing to act together in a framework of mutual benefit, because the type of daring and believing filmmakers as J. Mutune analyzed earlier are not only to be found in Kenya. Economic and social achievements gained by Africans themselves cannot be overlooked. The phenomena of Nollywood, Riverwood and various emerging African filmmakers show the potential of African filmmaking industries. Perhaps the future will bring a major change in the mindset of Europeans towards African countries. Supposedly, Europeans will start perceiving Africans as potential partners, not only as needy people wooing for help from the West.

These are the situations that surround the EU and Africa relations in the filmmaking industry. In the current framework, can African cinema ever flourish? If the EU is genuinely interested in equal partnership in the field of Africa-Europe filmmaking, the EU film funding policies need to make films and filmmaking accessible to more Africans, so that they can develop their filmmaking industries. The process of developing indigenous film industries and getting their products to audiences is not one with easy solutions and African filmmakers will have to face obstacles for some time in the future.

As Kenyan filmmaker J. Kibinge duly argues: “the old Francophone begging bowl model is unsustainable. Even though the films that come from that region are beautiful, and artistic, whose eye and whose tastes do they pander from and who is paying for those “high art” Francophone films and finally who is watching them?” (Otas, 2012). Evidently, African film industries will not be built overnight. Africans need investors to finance their equipment and cinema facilities. There needs to be an infrastructure developed in Africa to train technicians and artists and create distribution networks. This is a great challenge, of course, but it is not utopian. Thus, if the EU is genuinely willing to be a part of development in the field of African filmmaking industries, the EU policy makers should consider our recommendations in the following section.

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8. Recommendations

As noted throughout this thesis, in the last decade more attention has been placed on developing the African creative industries, cinema in particular. The EU has been involved in supporting the creative sector in Africa. Fostering African cinema industries and paying attention to African filmmaking is a welcome initiative. However, what can be done better to contribute to building sustainable African cinema industries?

I have argued that the sporadic funding of the production of African films is not enough for African filmmaking industries move to the next level. The most common concerns, expressed by African film scholars and the analyzed case-study in Kenya lead to some reflections and allow coming up with the necessary recommendations.

The great source of them emerged from the feedback of the EU funding recipients. For any funding to be sufficient, the recipient feedback should be a crucial aspect in defining the lessons learned and striving for improvement. Criticism towards the EU intentions when funding African cinema insists that there should be a closer communication between the African and European counterparts as well as respect for the interests of the both sides equally. Besides, the role of African governments is to support filmmaking and assist African filmmakers, who have got talent, but do not necessarily have the relevant resources.

Evidently, an inevitable outcome of a funding programme is the inescapable elimination of a particular application. However, an important condition of funding allocation should be a guarantee of a fair and equally acceptable application process. It goes without saying that not all applications can be successful. Yet, feedback from the Kenyan film industry players shows that the selection process is not unbiased enough: the EU does not disclose information on projects that do not qualify for funding, nor does it clarify the reasons for dismissal. As remarked earlier, even the application documents of ACP Films programme are firstly submitted in French language and only in few weeks are translated into English, this way prejudicing other than Francophone African countries. The EU support programmes to African cinema should provide equal opportunities to all African countries that are interested in the support. Information on the application and its terms and conditions should be available in all major languages, not giving a preference to one specific language, such as French. There needs to be greater openness and objectivity where dissemination of and access to information is concerned. This kind of information should be readily available to all interested African filmmakers, so that they may have a more thorough understanding of the selection process and of its criteria. As we found out, one of the problems was the access to the

application's information. Francophone domination provoked discontent from their Anglophone counterparts. The EU should make greater attempts towards accessibility and information dissemination, so that new industry players may become effectively involved in the film funding.

As outlined earlier, filmmakers applying for the EU programmes are asked to prove their financial stability. However, this is a problem for young emerging filmmakers. As discussed earlier, according to the ACP Films Programme guidelines, the candidates must "have stable and adequate sources of finance to guarantee the continuity of their organisation for the duration of the project and make real and substantial financial contribution to the project" (ACP Films Programme, 2010). It is important for the EU to recognize that these new filmmakers do not have the resources that established independent film producers may have at their disposal.

The EU should pay more attention to a more holistic approach with regard to the development of the African cinema industry. *The Captain of Nakara* B. Nyanja, Kenya (2012), showcased a situation, where money was provided for the production of a film regardless of broader outcomes of the support, not paying enough attention to such questions as the marketing of the film to reach the audiences in Kenya, which could have contributed to shape the country's film industry. It is important for the EU funds to be allocated to broader aspects of filmmaking, such as marketing and distribution of the sponsored film and making sure it is shown in the country and the region. These are the aspects that can contribute significantly to taking African film industries to the next level.

The EU training initiatives are usually isolated; there are thus no organized standards, nor are the actual needs of training sufficiently taken into account. These trainings usually take place in Europe and, thus, are more difficult to access by young industry newcomers. The EU should consider more thoroughly the needs of the African film industry and both parts learn from each other. The EU could perhaps contribute to an establishment of filmmaking schools that could formalize and properly open up the training field, and regulate training standards, combining all aspects of filmmaking. Evidently, film schools could provide the industry with a credible source of new filmmaking talents. Thus, the EU should continue with its support of training initiatives, and cooperate with African governments in creating a platform to help emerging African filmmakers to start new partnerships with film organizations that run training programmes.

As discussed earlier, Kenya has a film business, but so far not developed enough in terms of skills, equipment, trainings and promotion. This is also one of the reasons why it is more difficult for the East African filmmakers to compete for funding as compared to West Africa or South Africa, the reason being that there has not been enough preparation for filmmakers and producers to develop their skills in order to present their work at the level that is being demanded by these funders.

As analyzed throughout this thesis, the EU support programmes to African cinema aim to find ways of “reinforcing global cooperation between the EU and ACP film professionals from the audiovisual industry to their mutual benefit” (Media Mundus, 2012). As already remarked, the recent EU programmes focus on training, facilitating the market access, search for partners for co-productions and distribution, and encouraging international sales, promotion, circulation and exposure of audiovisual works worldwide on all possible distribution platforms. As already mentioned, besides fostering the exchange of information and networking, these programmes also seek to improve access to foreign markets, distribution and circulation of films worldwide, so that an extensive audience has a chance to see films from the ACP countries. The programmes aim to benefit both, European and ACP countries audiovisual professionals, by strengthening cultural and commercial ties and creating new business opportunities. Finally, and most importantly, the programmes aim to contribute to the emergence and strengthening of the production potential of the film and audiovisual industries in ACP countries as well as to improve the distribution of ACP cinema and audiovisual works. However, one is left wondering why it is almost impossible to watch an African film in an African cinema theatre. Isn't it a sign that something is still missing in getting right what African filmmaking needs to transform itself into a viable film industry?

As already emphasized, African filmmakers have been struggling to progress in contributing to the maximization of the economic potential of the film industries due to a lack of an infrastructure and the means of distribution. The common doubt that has been expressed by African filmmakers is the questionable presence of African cinema in the festivals organized in various European countries. How do these events contribute to the development of the African cinema? The issue cannot be resolved by sponsoring African films and distributing them in Europe. From the observations of various African cinema scholars and African filmmakers analyzed throughout this thesis it was observed that one of the major concerns is the distribution of African film in Africa. As already noted, recent EU support programmes to African cinema aim to facilitate distribution of African films. However, the EU, first of all, assists to the distribution of its sponsored films in Europe. Therefore, as argued throughout

thesis exhibiting African films foremost in Europe cannot contribute to boosting African cinema industry in a meaningful way. These are the drawbacks of the existing EU support to the African cinema programmes. For as much as the EU programmes seek to contribute to the growth of African film industries, they should be focusing more on distribution of African films within African countries. The EU could turn its funding to draw strategies to overcome the distribution challenges faced by the continent.

Furthermore, the common criticism regarding the support to African filmmaking has been that artists tend to lose their creative control of the project. The findings of showcased EU funding projects in Kenya revealed that the major issue was not the constraint of the artistic output of the African filmmakers. The major problem, once again, was the distribution of the EU supported film. An important aspect of the aid given by the EU is that it has been allocating funds for sporadic film productions and obtaining distribution rights. As witnessed in *The Captain of Nakara* (2012) case, the film was not screened in the major cinema theaters of Kenya. Moreover, the majority of the technical film crew was recruited in Europe. Therefore, films being primarily distributed in Europe do little to benefit local film industries. As outlined earlier, Kenyan stakeholders of the film perceived the granted EU aid as a means of return to the donor country. Conversations with Kenyan filmmaking industry players revealed that, in their opinion, funding agencies are not preoccupied with the continuity of their projects. In other words, there is a lack of focus on filmmaking areas that could contribute to boosting African cinema industries in a more consistent and sustainable ways.

The big amounts of money that are allocated to the African cinema should be at least spent in a more efficient way. One of the major tasks of the African film industries has been achieving their economic sustainability. As already noted, FEPACI, the continental voice of filmmakers from various regions of Africa, has been trying to achieve that African filmmakers consider their work as a real economical tool and turn African filmmaking into a viable industries (FESPACI, 2012). Once again, a network of distribution represents an essential element for the cinema industry. Another factor of poor distribution of African films in the continent is that African governments give little importance to film and, as a result, the films are better known abroad than in the African continent. The effort needs to be concentrated on re-launching the entire filmmaking system to support financing of the activities and of the structures that facilitate distribution.

African governments' interest in film industries also could facilitate more favorable conditions for the distribution of the African films in the continent. The EU could work with

African governments to come up with film policies for increasing visibility of African films in the continent. Also, it should disseminate the expertise and work together with African governments by forging links and partnerships between government structures, private sector bodies, and the broader film industry network. The EU could assist the local governments that need to step up and support the filmmaking industry as film can contribute immensely to benefit both the filmmakers and the African economy.

All in all, regarding distribution, the EU, first of all, could contribute to promoting African films in the continent of Africa. The EU should improve distribution and circulation of African films prioritizing Africa and not Europe. The EU could use its expertise and participate in drafting the African film policies. This would be a more holistic approach and a more realistic input in boosting the African film industry.

Most of the companies in the filmmaking industry have a capacity of creating workplaces, stimulate employment and contribute to the growth of the economy. A report by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) shows that despite registering some of the highest percentage growths in such fields as arts and crafts, music and design, the continent earns the least from its creative people (UNCTAD, 2012). “Despite the richness of their cultural diversity and the abundance of creative talent, the great majority of African countries are not yet fully benefiting from the enormous potential of their creative economies to improve development gains,” (UNCTAD, 2012). Lack of supportive public policies, poor integration into a global economy and a lack of investments in the sectors are some of the other factors keeping African “creative workers” from earning as much as their compatriots elsewhere (UNCTAD, 2012).

Making a film involves money and we cannot deny this factor; and, since filmmaking is a business, foreign aid only is insufficient for its sustainable growth. Definitely, for the time being, European funds are needed. However, the EU should allocate its funding to share expertise with local governments in finding strategies to induce local and international investors to invest into the African film industries. All of this is to say that the core ingredients for sustainability of the African filmmaking industries are its autonomy and generation of returns and this is what the EU support programmes should focus on.

Countries such as Nigeria and South-Africa are growing within the African Film industry. As already mentioned, Nollywood is the second-largest employer of labor in Nigeria, following the industry of agriculture, contributing 500 million USD annually to the GDP (World Bank, 2012). Nevertheless, there is more work to be done. Many African countries including the

analyzed Kenya's case have enough potential, but are lacking financial and human resources. Filmmaking in Africa is still a risk for business people, who are, first of all, concerned with the profit making. The EU should encourage African governments to take into consideration the film industries that can create jobs and bring in foreign currency to boost the filmmaking industry in the region if properly regulated. African governments should consider this field of employment and invest in the African cinema in order to improve African production. Governments and institutions in some way should help filmmakers by facilitating their work in enhancing the African filmmaking.

Some new African filmmakers' generations have demonstrated that producing African films can be a viable business. Such film as *Leo*, J. Mutune, Kenya (2012) that was referred to earlier in this thesis serves as an example to demonstrate how a good story and persistence enabled to attract local and foreign investors who, as the filmmaker, believed in the financial returns of the film. Nevertheless, Kenya still needs to solve the issue with regard to a lack of investment in filmmaking. There is, thus, a need for a strong, internal boost in local production that could turn the local filmmaking into a solid industry before Kenya can play internationally, because it can only become internationally competitive and a reliable co-production partner after it starts producing a higher number of films and of a better quality for the Kenyan local market.

To attract more business people to invest in the African filmmaking, the African governments, for instance, should establish tax incentive schemes that would encourage local investment. Governments should be more active in facilitating increased levels of industry investment. It could offer the film investors tax incentives such as reducing taxes on film production. The EU could encourage African government structures to initiate and facilitate these kinds of investment schemes. African governments should provide guarantees and a support base that would offer local and foreign investors assurance, and generate more local and international confidence in the African film industry. In addition to the funding assistance, the EU should encourage African governments to create local film agencies that support local film development and production that, in turn, would stimulate the local infrastructure. It is, thus, in the African states' own interest to invest in development and production of a local filmmaking industry. The local authorities should thus recognize the importance of putting money back into the local film industry, investing in areas of development and training.

As stipulated in the ACP Films Programme guidelines, a creative team needs to consist of two African partners and one European partner. The ACP Films programme is a European

Union's incentive to promote cooperation in an audiovisual sector of Africa. As already remarked, Kenyan team of *The Captain of Nakara* expressed their discontent at the European partner's dominance in managing the entire project. The EU donors should consider African filmmakers as equal partners, promote and forge the ACP societies to remain themselves and be aware of their own past, present and know their aspirations for the future. One thing is cooperation when both parts treat each other as equals; another thing is to think that Africans are passive and only able to be aid recipients. Equal cooperation is respecting and accepting the other's culture. One thing in cooperation in the field of cinema is to think that Africans are passive and are not able to create; another thing is recognizing the Africans as active and capable creators. Cooperation cannot be understood in a narrow-minded way and the role of the African filmmakers should not be underestimated. As with the reference to Africans, they are not as passive as they sometimes are being portrayed. Different relations should be established between former colonial powers and African filmmakers. The latter should be given more autonomy and should be recognized as potential and vital creators. EU should consider cooperation in terms of giving more autonomy and promoting self-supporting development based on local cultural values and needs. The EU should provide ACP countries with the capacity to produce their own images, to respect and enhance cultural identities at a national and international level.

Furthermore, with respect to concerns regarding the lack of dedicated and continuous support structure in place, once the funding is received, the project follow-up procedures need to be in place, because things can go wrong after funding has been awarded. As noted earlier, ACP Films Programme's recipients experienced a lack of support from funders in terms of hearing their needs and managing the production process so both Kenyan and European parts would have equal influence on the final result of the film.

As witnessed with the ACP Films Programme in Kenya, there were differences, both within the Kenyan creative team and between the Kenyan and European creative teams, on such aspects as technical crew hiring and editing. The time was wasted in disagreements and Kenyan part felt that their visions were not seriously taken into consideration by their European counterparts. In the case of *The Captain of Nakara (2012)* working relations between the Kenyan creative team and the European producer were not clearly defined. As noted earlier, both parties wanted different outcomes in terms of cinematic production. It appeared that the film director thought that producers were just representing the EU interests. Therefore, the EU should consider establishing a more hands-on and active supportive framework and create a cooperative environment in order to obtain the best results. Perhaps

field officers need to be employed: mentor figures that would monitor progress, assist with problems that may arise, and track funding money which would also solve the problem of mismanagement.

Referring to miscommunications within the Kenyan creative team, filmmakers also need to create support networks that allow them to learn from each others' experiences. The EU should initiate building partnerships, sharing information and collaboration in the interest of the growth of the African filmmaking sector. Artists in Africa should learn to cooperate and avoid conflicts that may lead to destruction of the sector. New filmmakers, who receive film funding, need an infrastructure, and a supportive framework that would facilitate learning, offer advice and assistance. As it was already emphasized, a system of support and follow-up on the programme needs to be in place. African filmmakers should put their hands together and stop thinking that they are rivals, because making a film is sharing their creativity.

Another important aspect of boosting African filmmaking is co-productions. EU should encourage co-productions, especially between African countries. As already noted by M. Diawara (1987): "first, by using African technicians, the producers will spend less and the film, by its double or triple nationality, increases its chances that it will recoup its cost among an African audience" (Diawara, 1987:3). Moreover, according to the author: "co-production among Africans may also save some of the equipment inherited from the Colonial Film Unit from stagnation; most important, aesthetically films run far less risk of misinterpreting African cultures when made by African directors" (Diawara, 1987:3).

Filmmaking is a very complex art including various stakeholders, marketing and distribution channels. As discussed throughout this thesis, Kenyan filmmaking industry players expressed their concern regarding funds being granted for filmmaking; however, they lack a broader perspective in finding ways to contribute to boosting African cinema industries in a more efficient way. Piracy is one of the major problems that has been hampering the development of African film industries. In Kenya as well as in a majority of African countries there is a lack of legal and institutional infrastructure to support the filmmaking industry. Nevertheless, there have been initiatives to tackle piracy by such organizations as the African Union with its "Nairobi Plan of Action 2005-2009 for Cultural Industries in Africa" that attempted to create legal and institutional infrastructure to support the cultural industries (African Union, 2005), yet up to date there has been insufficient involvement from the African governments. Piracy is a concern expressed not only by Kenyan filmmakers but by all of the African countries. On a related note, a lack of a reliable system of copyrights

protection, royalty recollection and distribution are still a huge threat for African filmmakers. The EU could be more active in cooperating with the African countries in reinforcing their legal frame against piracy and in setting up strong and reliable systems of copyright protection and royalty recollection. This is another fundamental cornerstone to allow young and promising African filmmakers to settle themselves in the market and to contribute to the development of African film industries. The EU could share expertise and cooperate with African countries in putting together measures to try and harness the African film industries. It could participate in creating awareness on the importance of copyright and related rights in Kenya and other African countries.

Furthermore, bureaucracy and the tedious application process of the EU support programmes to African cinema have been a concern of African filmmakers. In M. Bamuturaki's article "The Challenges of African Cinema" (2006) Tanzanian filmmaker and lecturer R. Mhando suggests that "micro-credit could play a critical role in the development of African cinema". "The old systems create dependency and take away individual initiatives to the unleashing of creativity" (Bamuturaki, 2006:49). According to R. Mhando (2006) "transforming European support into microfinancing organs could lead to self-reliance of African film practitioners. Microcredit could serve as an alternative to less flexible European funding bodies. The proposal of R. Mhando is based on the premise that micro-credit financing is directly applied to skills and knowledge that are often underutilized" (Bamuturaki, 2006:49).

The most important improvements in the EU policies on African cinema need to be considered in the field of the application process, the selection criteria, in creating an effective follow-up and a support framework once funding has been allocated. Also, more attention needs to be paid to investment in training, the creation of a favorable investment environment and in encouraging co-productions between African filmmakers. Forasmuch as the EU programmes seek to contribute to the growth of African film industries, neglecting marketing and distribution of supported films within the African countries will not lead to achieving programmes' targets. Evidently, the most effective European policies take shape through trial and error. European film funding policies can only improve by learning from the problem areas and mistakes. The initiated EU support programmes to African cinema should be more active in observing the actual impact of its programmes on the African film industries. Instead of continuing European subsidies to African filmmakers 'in need', the future, in fact, rests in working together as equal partners. According to N.F. Ukadike (2002), African filmmakers need people to work with, which is different from needing help: "to coproduce for each party's interest is the way to help African filmmakers and for financing party to help with its

money” (Ukadike, 2002:23). Therefore, if taking into consideration previously mentioned recommendations, the impact of EU support programmes to encouraging the growth of the African film industry might be felt.

9. Conclusions

The aim of this thesis was to analyze to what extent recent EU programmes have been contributing to boosting the African film industries. The existing controversy derives from the assertion by recipients that the supported films reinforce Western stereotypes of Africa, as well as that nearly all of the financial supports are issued under a condition of employment of the European crews. Having this in mind, how can African stories be told, and which ones remain untold?

To achieve this objective, the most recent EU support programmes were analyzed. The main objectives and selection criteria of the programme were reviewed. A run-through overview of the history of African cinema, the most prominent African filmmaking industry Nollywood and the major African film festival FESPACO was carried out. In order to answer the question if the most recent European support programmes have indeed contributed to boosting African cinema industries, it was necessary to: firstly, analyze criticisms of major African cinema scholars, secondly, to also review opinions of some of the most prominent African filmmakers and, thirdly, to analyze a practical case-study in Kenya.

A glimpse into FESPACO in this work served the purpose of reviewing the major criticisms regarding the strings attached to the European support. Firstly, recurrent critique has been that the festival is representing more European donors' requirements rather than recognizing honored African filmmakers. Secondly, various African film scholars and African filmmakers have been apprehensive that the festival first and foremost has been representing French interests in particular. Thirdly, it has been a cause of discontent, because mainly European funded films have been reaping the prizes of this festival. The fact that the film *The Captain of Nakara*, B. Nyanja, Kenya (2012) was nominated for a prize in FESPACO, left us wondering if this act was relevant to the festival's objective when the latter film had not been exposed to the Kenyan audiences. A EU funded film was 'invisible' in the country of the film director, but won various prizes abroad, including the FESPACO. Also, through Kenyan filmmakers' experience, we reaffirmed the criticism that mostly Francophone filmmakers are honored. However, at the same time, it was recognized for its unique celebration of African film and one could only speculate if this event could continue without the European financial contribution.

One of the major criticisms towards the European funding bodies has been that the majority of funding from the EU implies the creative control over a cinematic project. The present work defined authenticity as an opportunity to present accurate pictures of African life in pursuit of

overseas funding. Also, it was questioned whether supported African film can maintain its authenticity. African filmmaking scholars' arguments are not groundless when criticizing foreign bodies for influencing African filmmakers' creative visions. Evidently, the funding body by contributing to a film intends to influence it in one or another way. Countless NGO type of films have been depicting Africa torn by wars, diseases and hunger and that, are being dismissed by African audiences.

Yet, our findings are that not all of the most recent EU support programmes to the African cinema necessarily follow the same pattern. The major concerns expressed by the Kenyan film industry players were not the EU influence on the contents of the supported films, but its control over the marketing and distribution of the film. Furthermore, East African Diaspora filmmakers had no constraints that concerned their creative freedom while participating in the Babylon International EU Programme. E. Msangi-Omari confirmed that when creating her film, which was sponsored by the EU, she did not need to cater European tastes. Moreover, the filmmaker greatly appreciated the opportunity to be a part of the training of the Babylon International Programme. It appeared that in the African Diaspora in the United States of America the EU funding is much appreciated because of a lack of the support to African Diaspora filmmakers in the latter country. Furthermore, E. Msangi-Omari's EU sponsored film did not need to deal with the traditional African folk cultures, which is another common critique of the European funding conditions. Therefore, one cannot be very assertive when declaring that there are unavoidable conditions in exchange for the EU funding that would always amount to the betrayal of one's cinematic visions. Some of the filmmakers, analyzed in this thesis, refuse to adopt such an inflexible stance. Hence, it would be wrong to categorically state that, if Africans go to the West seeking for support of their films, their work cannot be called the African cinema. Moreover, conversations with Kenyan filmmakers revealed more flexible approaches to film funding, such as knowing what a filmmaker can and cannot compromise in order to receive the needed funds.

Eventually, filmmakers are free to decide whether to apply for the European funds or not, and once they have decided, they should be aware of all the conditions the funding requires, so both parts, the donor and the recipient, know each other's expectations and objectives. One could also argue, what the African cinema scholars and the African filmmakers discourse would be if there was no funding coming from Europe.

Analyzing recent support programmes to African cinema, particularly the Kenyan case, it did not seem that the EU only intends to communicate negative images of Africa as argued by

various African filmmaking scholars. The films *The Captain of Nakara*, B. Nyanja, Kenya (2012) and *Sweet Justice*, E. Msangi-Omari, Kenya (2012) do not have any intention to depict Africa in a negative light, nor do they talk about common NGO type issues. Therefore, it would be wrong to state that European funding means changing completely one's cinematic ideas, misrepresenting your country or pandering foreign audiences. The major concern of filmmakers appeared to be the marketing and distribution of their films in Africa. This appeared to be the major problem and an obstacle to regain the needed funds in order to be able to invest in other films. From the conversations with the Kenyan filmmakers it became clear that authenticity was not the major concern. The ACP films programme did not imply such an obvious constraint on the contents of the film, nor did it dictate its conditions out clearly. The major problem, once again, was the marketing and distribution of the film in Kenya and in the region.

The reference to Nollywood and Riverwood served a purpose to oppose the notion that African film industries cannot develop without a foreign assistance. The EU support programmes have been intending to contribute to the growth of African film industries. However, the EU funding has not been a strong indicator of the growth of African film industries. In contrast, such self-sustaining industries as Nollywood and Riverwood have gained their momentum recently. We argued that one of the biggest issues concerning African films funded by foreign aid has been their inability to reach commercial viability in Africa. These films are barely contributing to the growth of an actual industry that increases on the basis of profits from the previous production. On the contrary, it continues to depend on the flow of grants from foreign agencies, establishing a small niche for itself in the contexts of international cinema, but not reaching audiences in Africa sufficiently.

Despite the low quality of films, some Riverwood filmmakers are striving for improvement to take their films to the next level. From the conversations with some of the prominent Riverwood industry players, the common emphasis is on Kenyans' wish of working together with Europeans, rather than being 'helped' by them. An important fact has been that these industries have been employing local people, which unfortunately, as we observed in this thesis, is a common practice within foreign support films. It is a real way of getting rid of poverty. All over the world, African people see themselves in these films, or see things they want, and are grateful for the relief from the stereotypic images of Africa as the land of poverty and catastrophes. If the EU is concerned with contributing to boost African cinema industries, it should take them seriously enough to listen to them, trying to understand their

mentalities and desires. It is the time for the EU funding bodies to get rid of the negative perspective towards these industries. Nevertheless, they are still facing such problems as lack of professional equipment, staff or piracy. The talks with Riverwood representatives revealed that they would be interested in cooperating with the EU. However, the main emphasis was that they need Europeans as equal partners in a film business, not only as “help” providers.

A glimpse into the case of *The Captain of Nakara* B. Nyanja, Kenya (2012), enabled us to understand better the practical aspects of production and post-production of the EU supported film. The case also confirmed previous findings of such scholars as M. Diawara, N. F. Ukadike (2002), D. Murphy and P. Williams (2007), M. Saul and R.A. Austen (2010) and contributed additional evidence to criticisms of the European support policies to the African cinema. However, the conclusions of how the EU European Union is contributing to the African film industry have been limited due to solely looking at one case of Kenya. Nevertheless, *The Captain of Nakara*, B. Nyanja, Kenya (2012) was the first ACP Films Programme’s encounter in East Africa and, therefore, was worth of a closer analysis. Also, there have been few support programs in other than Francophone African countries; therefore, we thought it is important to also consider the East African perspective through a particular Kenyan case.

The director of *The Captain of Nakara*, B. Nyanja, Kenya (2012) confirmed that he faced an excessively complicated application process. Also, from the Kenyan team’s perspective, the common concern was the difficulty in applying for the European support without having contacts or partners in Europe. Moreover, Kenyan film industry players confirmed the EU preference for the candidates coming from the Francophone African countries.

The fact that the European film production company played the leading role in the application process and in the selection of the Kenyan partners prompted to us that the European counterparts also had a greater control of the filmmaking process in general, which included application, pre-production, production and post-production. Nevertheless, we did not witness any particular discontent from the Kenyan film director regarding the content control. We suggest that having adapted a well-known German play to a Kenyan story, the film was targeted, first of all, to European audiences. Furthermore, this also was the reason for a miscommunication between the Kenyan and European counterparts. The European producer worked to satisfy European audiences’ tastes, while the Kenyan counterpart’s intentions were to adjust the story to the Kenyan audiences as well was not taken into account by the European partners. This situation leaves one wondering whether this can be called a genuine

European will to contribute to the African film industries, while the stories, as *The Captain of Nakara*, B. Nyanja, Kenya (2012), are firstly targeted at European audiences. This experience contributed to a frequent critique of the EU funding programmes, where the leading role of managing a project is played by the Europeans.

Furthermore, our findings confirmed that the European counterparts had greater influence in terms of the contents and editing of the film compared with the Kenyan team. In this thesis we argued that a necessary precondition of the African film industry development is the possibility for a filmmaker to generate income from his/her film to be able to invest in the next film production instead of continuously turning to foreign funding agencies. Also, the EU funding programmes should prioritize hiring mainly local (African) crews, this way creating jobs in the recipient country. One of the findings that emerged when studying this case was that not much has changed since the colonial times when all the editing of a film was done in the metropolis. The same happened in *The Captain of Nakara*, B. Nyanja, Kenya (2012) case, where the technical crew was hired in Europe as well as editing, which was done in Europe. This definitely did not provide a chance to create more employment opportunities within the Kenyan film industry.

Furthermore, our analyzed *The Captain of Nakara*, B. Nyanja, Kenya, (2012) was not a didactic film, communicating usual stereotypical messages about Africa, nor did the filmmaker experience any direct pressure from the funding agency on the contents of the film. However, the criticism that the film distribution was dominated by the Europeans has been confirmed.

Findings of the thesis suggest that one of the major contradicting aspects of the analyzed support programme was the fact that the film was not screened in major Kenyan cinema theaters. *The Captain of Nakara*, B. Nyanja, Kenya (2012) case confirmed that as many other EU sponsored films it won prizes overseas, while Kenyan audiences, except for the festival, did not have a chance to see it on a big screen. Therefore, this was not enough to generate profit that would allow it to become another financial lifeline for a film production. The programme failed to meet one of its major objectives “to promote African film access to local regional and international markets” (ACP Films Programme, 2010). However, it appeared that promotion of African film access to the local (African) markets is of a greater importance. As it turned out, the major concern was to show the film overseas, not in Kenya. All the marketing was done by the European counterparts in Europe. It was pushed through the European marketing channels first. It did not even have a chance to break thorough in the

cinemas of Kenya and in the region with the aim of generating returns so that future productions would already have investments accrued. The major concern is how it could have contributed to boosting the Kenyan film industry if it was not even screened in the major cinema theaters there.

Although the study of a recent EU programme Media Mundus in Kenya was based on one Kenyan filmmaker's experience, in contrast to the analyzed ACP Films Programme in Kenya, the findings suggest that Babylon International Programme had a valuable impact on a professional filmmaker's E. Msangi-Omari development and opened doors for funding of her newest film. Various scholars and African filmmakers have been criticizing the EU for imposing their donor agenda when supporting the African cinema. Despite all the criticism, the case of E. Msangi-Omari showed her positive feedback on the EU support she received. Firstly, the findings with the reference to the Babylon Film International suggest that European Union provided a greater spectrum of funding programmes compared to the funding opportunities for African Diaspora in the United States of America. The USA government does not provide such funding programmes as the EU does. Secondly, the evidence from E. Msangi-Omari experience showed that, unlike the ACP Films Programme's tedious application process, the Babylon International EU was very straight forward. Thirdly, a filmmaker believes in attaining a balance with the funding agency in terms of realizing the filmmaker's creative vision.

Jinna Mutune's film *Leo*, Kenya, (2012) that was discussed earlier, therefore, assists in our understanding of the role of the independent Kenyan filmmaker's contribution into boosting the Kenyan film industry. Recent independent African filmmakers have been going against the inveterate idea that African filmmakers cannot produce films without the European support. J. Mutune's case proved a common African filmmakers' concern that if one does not apply for foreign funding it takes ages to finish a film. For many years she has struggled to complete her film. However, she proved that a strong determination and the local private businesses' support can lead to constructive results. Local private investors were keen to put money into a film that aimed to boost an image of Kenya that would lead to possible new investments in the country. Taken together, the study of this independent filmmaker has gone towards enhancing understanding what African industries need for a push forward: such are strong determination, appealing stories and business orientated filmmakers. There are filmmakers who also want Europeans to perceive them as equal partners with whom they could work.

Thus, the dissertation addressed a question whether recent EU support programmes to the African cinema have been contributing to the African film industries. Through a glimpse into the Kenyan film industry the thesis intended to confirm the major criticisms regarding European funding to the cinema and to establish if these recent programmes have been contributing to the growth of African film industries.

To achieve this objective we also should have needed to analyze the major directions of development of the colonial past and how this past has been influencing the present Africa-Europe cooperation in the field of filmmaking. We established that the colonial past cannot be forgotten within a few decades. Most probably it will take much more time for the European agencies to change their paternalistic attitudes and for the African filmmakers to gain confidence in their abilities.

Then, we considered the most recent and the most significant EU support programmes such as Media Mundus, ACP Films Programme and Culture Auction Floor discussing their scale, objectives, norms, and regulations. Furthermore, constraining a possibility of remaining authentic to the filmmaker's visions when receiving foreign funding has been one of the major concerns discussed by various African film scholars. Therefore, considering the support programmes to the African cinema it was reasonable for us to establish how free African filmmakers are to realize their creative visions. However, our findings made us question this concern as, on one hand, it was an issue during ACP Films Programme's encounter in Kenya, while the analyzed case of Babylon International EU reminded us that the EU has been funding not only a film production, but also, it has been providing training in script development and various other filmmaking related fields.

Furthermore, FESPACO served a purpose of defining relevant issues related to the aspects of the European support and its impact on the African film industry. Nevertheless, being one of the most important filmmaking events in Africa, it still remains controversial. However, one can only wonder if this festival could have happened without the foreign support. Finally, an equally important reference was established to such self-sufficient film industries as Nollywood and Riverwood recently gaining its way through.

This thesis has attempted to bring together the major criticisms regarding recent EU support programmes to African cinema and has analyzed the practical case in Kenya. It has also addressed the lessons that need to be learnt and what could be done to develop a viable relationship between Europe, which has the money, and Africa, which has the stories, but is still lacking a capacity of exploiting the medium. Various arguments, expressed by African

filmmaking scholars and African filmmakers that European funding agencies are first and foremost interested in contributing to their own markets, were analyzed throughout the work. Hence, there is no straight answer, if the most recent European programmes have contributed to boosting African film industries. Also, this study has mainly concentrated on Kenyan case and the conclusions have been drawn based mostly on Kenyan film industry players, who have had their work supported by the EU.

This thesis uncovered the patterns of the most recent EU support programmes to the African cinema. The study established that yet some aspects of European support to the African filmmaking have not changed since the colonial times and still prevail nowadays. We found out that in the recent programme of the ACP Film Programme in Kenya, Europeans employed the European film crew as well as all the editing was done in Europe. The study also revealed that there is not much framework in which the coproducing parties (European and African) mutually agreed on the parameters of their common work. Also, the EU initiatives of cooperation have been exploited economically, which is expressed most evidently in ownership regulations and not necessary taking into consideration the African spectators.

Above all, the Kenyan case study enabled us to grasp practical aspects of the most recent EU programmes developed for the African filmmaking. We decided that we needed to narrow our focus on one particular case of Kenya in order to verify theoretical arguments of strings attached to the European funding. The study witnessed a recurrent wish from the African filmmakers to cooperate/work with Europeans as with equal partners, rather than being perceived as subjects requesting for ‘help’.

The present study of the recent ACP Films programme established that it was not only a film production, but also a distribution that was in the hands of European partners. Francophone countries have been dominating in respect to grants of the EU support programmes, established to the African cinema, leaving the equally talented East African film industry players out. A commitment to communicate a particular message of Africa, devastated by wars and diseases, was not observed within the analyzed recent EU support programmes for the African cinema.

The lack of taking the needs of African filmmakers into consideration and the absence of mutually agreed definitions between Africa and Europe in the field of cinematic cooperation provoke criticism by African filmmaking scholarly and filmmakers what concerns European funding system. The EU support programmes to African cinema have been criticized for the gaps in guaranteeing an effective contribution to the African filmmaking industries. However,

we wonder if there still would be the same amount of criticism towards the EU support to the African filmmaking if there was no funding available. The key shortcomings in the recent EU policies we identified included such aspects as application process, selection criteria, follow-up of the project and assurance of an equal partnership. Evidently, the EU support programmes' impact on the African cinema industries still need to be researched more thoroughly in order to create a more substantial debate. To understand how EU support programmes could become more efficient in taking African filmmaking into the next level, we would need to address current forms of dependency, domination, colonialism and economic relations between Africa and Europe more extensively. Thus, a partnership between European and African cinemas will need to be continuously examined, in pursuit of a genuine and viable relationship that could be developed in terms of Africa-Europe filmmaking.

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Annexes

Annex 1. Personal Interviews¹³

Asiba, C. (2013). Personal Interview on 5/4/13 (M. Domarkaite, Interviewer)

Kaiyre, M. (2013). Personal Interview 17/1/13 (M. Domarkaite, Interviewer)

Kibinge, J. (2012). Personal Interview 19/12/12. (M. Domarkaite, Interviewer)

Msangi-Omari, E. (2012). Personal Interview 4/12/12. (M. Domarkaite, Interviewer)

Nyanja, B. (2012). Personal Interview 4/12/12. (M. Domarkaite, Interviewer)

¹³ These interviews were not transcribed upon the request of the interviewees due to the sensitivities of the funding issues. However, some opinions of these interviewees are discussed in this thesis.

Annex 2. E-mail Interviews

2.1. Interview with Balufu-Bakupa Kanyinda, filmmaker 25/12/11

Maria Domarkaite:

I would like to ask you do you think that if African cinema was financed by African institutions it would have more autonomy in contents than as it is when financed by the European institutions? And Why?

Balufu Bakupa-Kanyinda:

Dear Maria, Hope this email finds you well as I wish to you a diamond new year 2012. Cinema is a politically Art of Representation, Memory and Imaginary of a people. In a global understanding, cinema is dominated by the West representation of the world. As you may know money (finance) is the key in the film business. As we say, the producer is the "owner" of a film. Who puts the money in a film could also make the decision on the main objective. Yes if the African cinema could be founded by African Institutions, the result would be different. You must look to the cinema in Morocco, South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt... to prove this. But the production of cinema is not just about money, it's about the Representation of a people.

2.2. Interview with Ekwa Msangi-Omari, filmmaker 4/3/2013

According to what I remember you were telling to me during our last Skype session in December, you were planning to come over to Kenya in May for a shooting of "Sweet Justice", right? How is it going? You mentioned that you were granted script writing training organized by EU Babylon Films in 2011. Now as a sequence of it, you are working on your film "Sweet Justice". When you where applying for EU Babylon International, what about application process itself? Few Kenyan filmmakers mentioned to me that applying for the EU funds is an extremely complicated process; you basically need to hire somebody for doing only this. I wanted to ask what was your personal experience. According to my knowledge in other European Union support programmes, such as ACP Films Programme, there needed to be one director from the EU and one from ACP countries. This, as you know better than me, created some tensions in creative process, having 2 different visions how the story should be told - clash is unavoidable. I wanted to ask what about your case with "Sweet Justice", are there other European directors involved or any other particular conditionalities come along with the support?

E. Msangi-Omari:

The Babylon program isn't quite the EU thing; they have their own application which is pretty straightforward and not the ACP one where you have to hire someone to do it for you (thank God!) and because it's only a script development grant, they don't infringe on how you shoot it, and certainly don't have a European person who needs to shoot with you! It might be of interest to you that this year at Cannes they're making a focus on Kenyan filmmakers.

2.3. Interview with Judy Kibinge, filmmaker 14/10/12

Marija Domarkaite:

Dear Judy, currently I am thinking about my master's theses. I don't want to inconvenience you, but I would be more than grateful if you could answer some questions. Maybe you could tell me what is the agenda of the EU when supporting cinema in Africa and what impact does it have on practice of art? I was also wondering if eradication of poverty can be a goal when funding cinema in African countries? And finally, what happens to the cinema when it is funded to communicate a certain message?

Judy Kibinge:

Dear Maria, thanks for your mail. I'm not sure I am qualified to answer your questions, as very few Kenyans and indeed East Africans receive EU funds, unlike West African filmmakers, in particular Francophone films. In fact, to my knowledge I only know of one Kenyan project that has been awarded a substantial EU grant and don't have any details on how they applied.

I have no idea what the EU's agenda is, but if I was to hazard a guess I would imagine it had something to do with keeping European crew and filmmakers and studios busy as the funds, I think I heard, usually insists in substantial participation from European based filmmakers and production houses.

As to eradication of poverty through funding film, despite a fair number of slum and ghetto based film initiatives, these really are a drop in the ocean when it comes to end poverty. Sure, some filmmakers get trained up or receive grants, but surely not enough to affect in any meaningful way poverty.

As to message driven cinema, I think it ruins cinema in every way imaginable. In Kenya, documentary is largely misunderstood thanks to decades of message sponsored documentaries. Broadcasters also insist that documentaries cannot be flighted before filmmakers pay them (the broadcasters) to flight them. This is thanks to decades of NGOs putting documentaries on television and paying for that airtime. It's proved quite hard to

reverse that and get some true respect going for the documentary genre thanks to that. That is not to say that message driven cinema isn't important. In the rural areas, I'm told people really watch and learn from them, especially through mobile cinema. SO,...I am sorry, but as you can see, I'm really no expert and am not keen to give you too many of my own subjective views as they will largely be guesses and not based on any concrete experience or figures.

I am told that in Europe there are a few consultants based in Europe who have advised and have helped numerous francophone filmmakers on how to get funds from the EU for their films. If I were you, I would identify one of these people and ask them to give you a broad breakdown on which regions or countries or filmmakers get the most support and take it from there.

Marija Domarkaite:

May I ask you if ever any of your film or your Kenyan colleagues' film has participated in FESPACO? From your own experience, is it really so pro-French event where even English is not spoken? Is it a place only for art-house cinema? Or you can start noticing more commercial trend as well? Will you be going to the next one?

Judy Kibinge:

I love FESPACO, I've had two films shown there and been three times. It's amazing. Over half a million people attend, and opening and closing ceremonies held in a stadium! Music and film and parties everywhere, it's wonderful. And yes, very French. It's very weird because it's an organizational nightmare, plagued with problems (they send the filmmakers tickets late etc) but when you do get there, it's a magical experience. The screenings, the shows, the fireworks, the excitement etc... You must go if you have the chance. They don't really respect anything not submitted on 35mm or 16mm film, which is crap because with digital, many of the entries there they place in the TV section, but some of the films shown are just blown up onto film but aren't as great. But it's the place to see amazing artistic African Cinema the TV sections you will also see some wonderful commercial films too.

Screenings are in open air cinemas under stars and also in huge cinema halls. You really meet a lot of lovers of film, not just African film but film in general. And the parties are great - even the president has one.

I must say though the 2011 one was not as brilliant as the other two I went to mainly because I think they were too much in debt this time, so Hotel Independence which is the heart and

soul of FESPACO, the central meeting place, was not the place where most filmmakers were staying because FESPACO apparently had not paid their bills, and so unfortunately, without a string central meeting place, which has always been around the Hotel Independence swimming pool, the energy of the festival was a little low. But if you have never gone then you must go. It's a must.

The first time I was invited, my ticket was late, they told me to collect it in Ghana so I paid myself my air ticket to Ghana but when I got there no ticket and I had to get a bus all by myself across Ghana and across Burkina desert ... it took me 28 hours, and when I finally arrived, I found that the hotel they had booked me into was full! I burst into tears immediately! But the next day they found me another room and I had the best 2 weeks of my life...wonderful screenings, conversations and food....Gosh, Maria, these memories make me feel like booking a flight for the next one!

Marija Domarkaite:

Judy, is amazing what you are telling to me, because I've been coming across quite controversial feedback from Anglophone filmmakers... and now you have given me very positive one. Very interesting, you gave me a chance to look at it from different perspective.

Judy Kibinge:

It's conflicted because of course it is very francophone and very disorganized, and the French definitely favor their own films, but for the adventurous or the creative, it's an experience of a lifetime, a real celebration of film in an African country that loves film. Also, its special because unlike east Africa, West Africa is filled with culture, so the music, the food, the drumming all come together .. Even the art that you can purchase while there is amazing.

2.4.Interview with Oliver Thau, the German producer of *The Captain of Nakara*, B.

Nyanja, Kenya (2012)

Maria Domarkaite:

Dear Oliver

I have been looking at the case of B. Nyanja's film *The Captain of Nakara* I would like to ask why *The Captain of Nakara* was not screened in cinema theaters in Kenya? Except of the 2012 Kenya International Film Festival. ACP films programme is supposed to contribute to boosting local cinema industry. However is it possible to do so not even screening this film in Kenya?

Oliver Thau:

It was screened in local cinemas in Nairobi and in Uganda. But if you look at the African cinema market it is more than hard to survive with ticket prices of 3 or 3\$. Most of the cinemas still need prints that are quite expensive in a digital world. Or you screen from a DVD which is not good for the quality. On top you will need money for p&a. So all in all I do think that the DVD and TV (vod) market is stronger in Africa. But we are just about doing a deal with the Canadian company Cineclick, an equivalent to Netflix but for theaters worldwide.

Marija Domarkaite:

Has the film generated any returns from the screenings abroad?

Oliver Thau:

From screening you will not get any revenues. We sold it to Canal+ Afrique and another African vod channel but these are only small amounts that basically cover the material

Marija Domarkaite:

Has this film gone into DVD? I have tried to acquire it with your colleagues from Bluesky, but I was told that they did not have a DVD of the film.

Oliver Thau:

No, so far the film has not gone out on DVD but we are still working on it. The market for African films is small and you won't find distributors investing in a DVD release in Germany for example. They will not sell enough copies. In Africa you do have the problem of piracy. They are faster and cheaper than any company. I do think that a platform like AfricFilms is good and helpful for our project. In general the digital world can help because sooner or later there will be no DVDs anymore. Everything will be available online, and what you need to do than, you need to create awareness for your product. Hope my answers were helpful

2.5.Interview with Cajetan Boy, Screen writer, filmmaker 12/05/2015

Marija Domarkaite:

I would be very grateful if you could clarify some aspects re. *The Captain of Nakara* from our meeting: You were selected by ACP Films Programme after attending a script writing workshop in Goethe Institut for writing a script for *The Captain of Nakara* or you have personally applied for the Programme?

Cajetan Boy:

No. I met Oliver Thau during the script writing workshop. He was the facilitator for the workshop. He got to look at some of my previous films and suggested we work on a script together - one that was light and not so doom and gloom. We worked on the Captain of Nakara which was an adaptation of a German script The Captain of Kopernick.

Marija Domarkaite:

Did you have any contract with ACP Films Programmes or was it directly with German producers? Were there any specific requirements regarding the script development from European side?

Cajetan Boy:

No I do not have a contract with ACP. My contract was with BlueSky Productions.

Marija Domarkaite:

Are you aware what was the funding for? I mean what exactly for: production, postproduction, both?

Cajetan Boy:

I think the funding was for script development, pre-production, production and post-production

Marija Domarkaite:

Once film was released and screened, who was supposed to receive returns from it?

Cajetan Boy:

I believe that everybody involved with the production - in this case the German Partners, Bluesky and I was to receive returns from it.

Marija Domarkaite:

Obviously, filmmaking is business - have you defined what was in it for you?

Cajetan Boy:

I was paid cash in two installments and I am supposed to get some royalties - once production costs have been cleared.

Marija Domarkaite:

Has it happened in practice? To what extent do you know what is happening with the film: where the film is shown, your royalties from screening the film, etc?

Cajetan Boy:

Other than the cash payment I have not received anything else nor have I been informed of screenings and/or royalties.

Marija Domarkaite:

According to the German producing company 'supposedly what works is the collaboration between Kenyan company and foreign film production company, because this allows for certain standard to be maintained', (Film Kenya Magazine, 2012). However, Kenyan creative team's experience revealed their frustrations of being kind of excluded. The film director had commented for the major Kenyan newspapers that he 'did not own the film'. Why, from your experience, do you think this happened?

Cajetan Boy:

Even I as a writer do not feel like I own the film and for me I believe Bluesky is the problem - they really do not have any respect for anything Kenyan or for Kenyans.

Marija Domarkaite:

My own impression that the film worked out in Europe, not here in Kenya, am I wrong? Why do you think this happened?

Cajetan Boy:

I have heard the same - though it is more or hearsay. If the movie worked in Europe I think it's because the European partners have made an effort to push the movie unlike the Kenyan counterparts (including the Film Director).

2.6. Interview with Niji Akanni, filmmaker 20/8/2013

Dear Niji, I found out about You through Babylon Film International. I was wondering if I could ask you few questions? European Union's support programmes to African filmmaking have been criticized for not contributing to development of African film industries in any meaningful way. The EU has been criticized for its tedious application processes, favouring francophone African filmmakers and distributing supported films in Europe while African audiences do not have a chance to see them. My I ask what was Your experience with Babylon Film International ? Have You experienced any of above mentioned aspects?

Niji Akanni

Hi, Maria. Yes, I was selected in to take part in the Babylon project in 2010 or 2011 but the Nigerian participants could not make it that year due to some visa problem (I think we applied too late or something)

Back to your question on EU support for African cinema: I think there is overwhelming evidence to back your thesis that the EU has largely overlooked the sub-Saharan African cinema practise. I think that such few, token gestures of ‘support’ for African cinema that exists in EU culture circuits, are badly conceived and half-heartedly executed. The major problem, to me, is that such EU program of supporting filmmaking in sub-Saharan Africa simply does not factor the peculiar dynamics of our cinema industry. The guidelines for fund application, and grant utilization are patterned after the European best practices in arts grant-making, which simply do not work with us. What happens then is that even though some of us know of the existence of the few EU grants/support platforms, we tend to balk at trying to meet the overly strict conditions attached to accessing those grants.

But then, I am personally of the opinion that the EU does NOT have a duty to develop the African cinema or support African filmmakers: so it doesn’t really matter if they design their grants/funding mechanisms in ways that are inaccessible to us. As the success story of the recent Nigerian digital cinema phenomenon has pointed out, I think we are doing quite well in finding our tongues to tell our own stories.

And yes, I do think that the French-speaking African nations have easier access to Western/European foreign cinema development funds. This is largely a continuing upshot of the historical fact that France has been the most successful European country in worldwide cultural propagation/administration. The French are quicker and more willing to understand and adapt to non-Western cultures than other European nations. In most African countries, Nigeria inclusive, the French Foreign Missions or Consulates are the most visible, vibrant, responsive and accessible in the cultural lives of their host nations.

2.7. Irina Orssich, Media Mundus 15/07/12

Marija Domarkaite:

I would like to know what is the percentage of the support to cultural sector comparing with the support to other sectors in Africa by the EU? Also, I wanted to find out what is the percentage of support to African cinema of the part of the support to culture in Africa?

Irina Orssich:

MEDIA is the EU support programme for the European audiovisual industry. It co-finances training initiatives for audiovisual industry professionals, the development of production projects (feature films, television drama, documentaries, animation and new media), as well as the promotion of European audiovisual works.. The MEDIA 2007 programme (2007-2013)

is the fourth multi-annual programme since 1991 (previous programmes) and has a budget of € 755 million. Its objectives are: to strive for a stronger European audiovisual sector, reflecting and respecting Europe's cultural identity and heritage; to increase the circulation of European audiovisual works inside and outside the European Union; to strengthen the competitiveness of the European audiovisual sector by facilitating access to financing and promoting use of digital technologies

The Mediadesk has two programmes Media Mundus and Media international. These two programmes focuses on EU support for third countries (outside Europe). The Cultural contact Point has no specific knowhow about these programmes so that's the reason that I recommend you to contact the Mediadesk. In MEDIA Mundus professionals from African can participate in all kinds of projects for the audiovisual industries. We can therefore to give you a percentage.

Marija Domarkaite:

In this case I wanted to ask what about one of your programmes Media Mundus that was launched this year? It supports African filmmakers as well?

Irina Orssich:

The MEDIA programme is only dealing with European films and other audiovisual products. I therefore do not have amounts and statistics about Africa, I am afraid. I believe it is General Directorate EuropeAid that is dealing with this matter for Africa:

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/index_en.htm

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/culture/index_en.htm.

Marija Domarkaite:

Dear Irina, Ekwa Msangi-Omari was granted by the EU Babylon Film International Programme in training of script development. My question would be if there is any report on this project on script writing training: objectives, results etc? Thank you in advance for considering my request.

Irina Orssich :

Dear Maria, There is no such public report I am aware of.

2.8. Information request at Europe Direct Contact Center 10/04/2013

Marija Domarkaite:

Hello, I wanted to know if the EU has ever sponsored any of FESPACO (The Pan-African Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou)? If yes, which EU agency sponsored the festival? And what year? Looking towards to your response.

Europe Direct:

Dear Ms Domarkaite, Thank you for your message. The European Commission supported the organisation of FESPACO with funding of €1.74 million for the 2011 festival. It also provided a grant of €70 000 for the first African Television Day held on 27 February. For further information we invite you to consult the press release IP/11/237*: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-11-237_en.htm?locale=FR

The programme was financed by the 10th European Development Fund (EDF) which is the main instrument for providing Community development aid in the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries and the overseas countries and territories (OCTs). For further information on the EFD, we invite you to consult the following section on the website of the responsible Commission department (Directorate General – DG – for Development and Cooperation – Europeaid): http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/how/finance/edf_en.htm

2.9. Information request from the Europe Direct Contact Centre (EU) 10/10/12

Marija Domarkaite:

Hello, I am interested in the EU support to African cinema could you please give me broad breakdown on which African regions, African countries and African filmmakers get the most support from the EU?

Europe Direct:

Dear Ms Domark, Thank you for your message. However, due to the specific nature of your questions, we suggest you to contact directly the service in charge which is the Directorate-General (DG) for Development and Cooperation — EuropeAid of the European Commission at EUROPEAID-info@ec.europa.eu .

The mission of the Development and Cooperation DG — EuropeAid consists in the implementation of the external aid instruments financed by the European Union (EU) budget and the European Development Fund. You will find information on EuropeAid Development and Cooperation DG projects on its website at the following address: http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/index_en.htm

We hope the above will enable you to obtain the information you requested, but please do not hesitate to contact us again should you require further assistance.

Annex 3. Commissioner Piebalgs announces new support for culture in the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries on the occasion of the Ouagadougou Film Festival

Référence: IP/11/237 Date de l'événement:

01/03/2011

Autres langues disponibles : [FR](#) [DE](#) [ES](#) [NL](#) [PT](#)

IP/11/237

Brussels, 1 March 2011

Commissioner Piebalgs announces new support for culture in the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries on the occasion of the Ouagadougou Film Festival

To coincide with the Pan-African Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou (FESPACO), the European Commission is launching the EU-ACP support programme for the ACP cultural sector totalling €30 million. The new programme will ensure that the achievements of the current film and cultural support programmes have a lasting legacy. These programmes have, for instance, made possible the Chad film "Un homme qui crie" by Mahamat-Saleh Haroun, Prix du Jury at the Cannes Film Festival in 2010, and "The last flight of the flamingo" by the Mozambique director, João Ribeiro, which won the award for best feature film at the 3rd International Film Festival of Luanda (Angola).

"The dynamism of African cinema, Caribbean music and Pacific artists opens a window onto the reality in these countries. Culture is a vital element in social cohesion and identity. It is also a sector which generates wealth and jobs. My wish is that our support for the cultural sector will contribute to the economic, social and also political development of the ACP countries", said the Development Commissioner, Andris Piebalgs.

This new programme provides support to **every link in the production chain**: from creation/production to distribution/dissemination/promotion, including the development of vocational training courses.

The first call for proposals for the programme will make it possible to finance schemes to the tune of €12 million, €7 million of which will be in the film/audiovisual domain and €5 million for other cultural industries, with a view to:

- boosting the creation/production of cultural goods and services in the ACP countries by **promoting their integration into distribution channels** and by drawing even more benefit from the interregional ACP framework;
- promoting their **access to markets at different levels** – local, regional, intra-ACP, European and international;
- enhancing the **technical and entrepreneurial capacities** of the different players, operators and entrepreneurs involved in the cultural sector in the ACP countries.

By requiring a distribution strategy for productions in each production plan and by allowing state television companies to submit bids for distribution, the emphasis is on the circulation/dissemination of productions and the **economic and social dimensions of the cultural sector** (market access, job creation and integration of activities into the formal economy).

The new programme continues the activities carried out under the ACPFILMS and ACPCULTURES programmes financed by the 9th European Development Fund, still under way. It takes on board the lessons learnt and recommendations made during consultations held in recent years with artists' representatives and professionals and entrepreneurs from the cultural sector in ACP countries. A second call for proposals is scheduled for mid-2012.

Pan-African Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou

The European Commission is supporting the organisation of FESPACO with funding of €1.74 million for the 2011 festival. It also provided a grant of €70 000 for the first African Television Day held on 27 February. This event made it possible for seven private African French-speaking television channels to offer the same 100% African schedule of programmes, a veritable panorama of African productions, potentially reaching some 100 million viewers in Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Congo Brazzaville, Niger and Senegal.

Background:

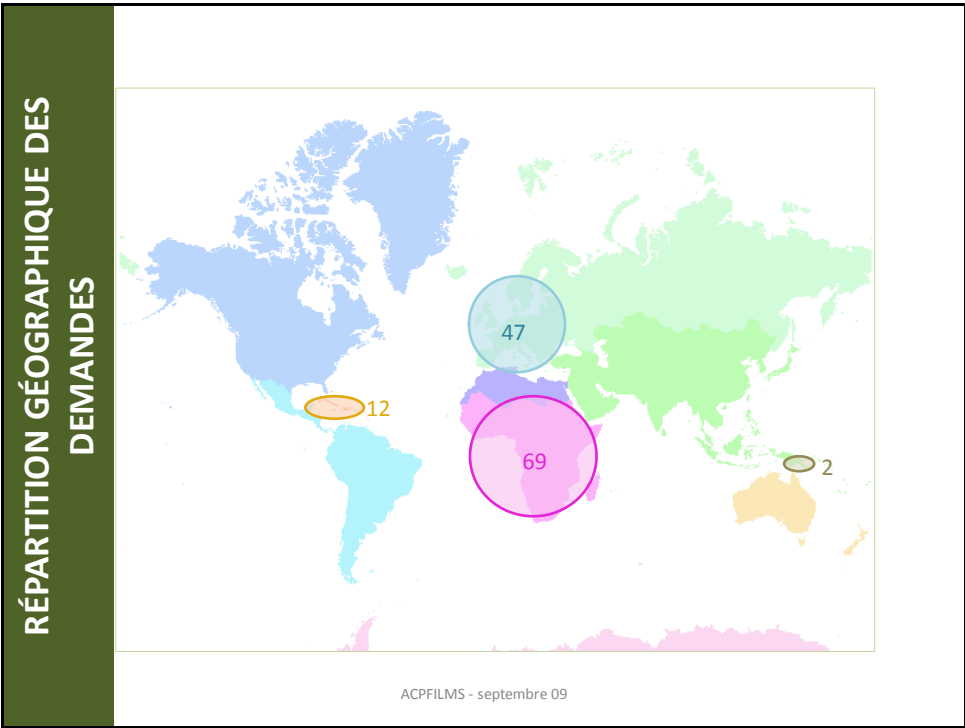
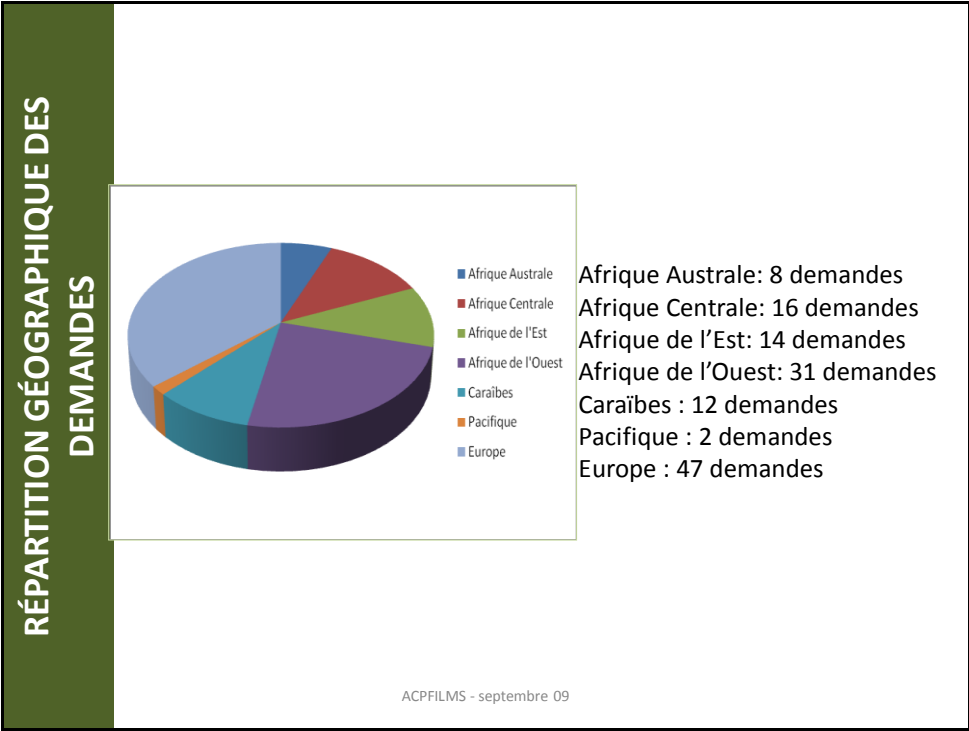
The new programme is financed by the 10th European Development Fund.

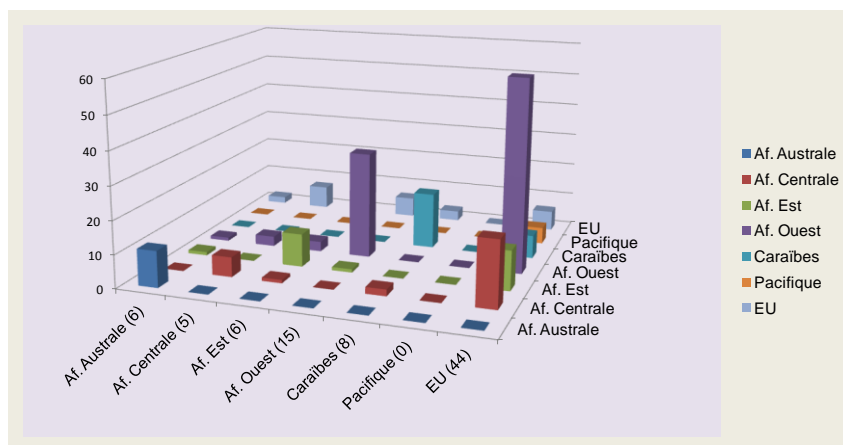
Under the **ACPFILMS** programme, the Commission, in partnership with the ACP Group of States, is financing 24 projects in the fields of production and post-production (12 projects), distribution, promotion and networking (6 projects), and training

(6 projects), amounting to a total of €6.5 million. This programme has made it possible, for instance, to produce the Chad film "*Un homme qui crie*" by Mahamat-Saleh Haroun, Prix du Jury at the Cannes Film Festival in 2010, and "The last flight of the flamingo" by the Mozambique director, João Ribeiro, which won the award for best feature film at the 3rd International Film Festival of Luanda (Angola).

ACPCULTURES focuses on the other artistic sectors. A total of €2.17 million is earmarked for the setting-up of six projects relating to the contemporary visual arts, the performing arts and music, in particular for the organisation of artistic events, technical training courses, professional encounters and exchanges, and artist-in-residence schemes.

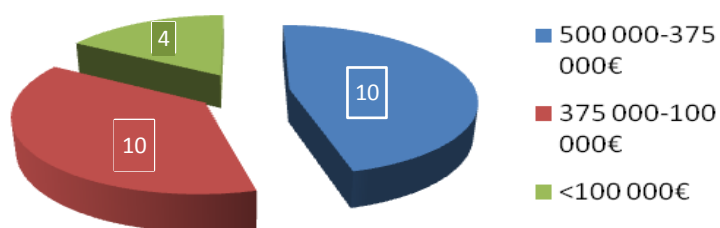
Annex 3 . “Results of the Call for Proposals 2009 9th EDF Implemented by the ACP Secretariat funded by the European Union”





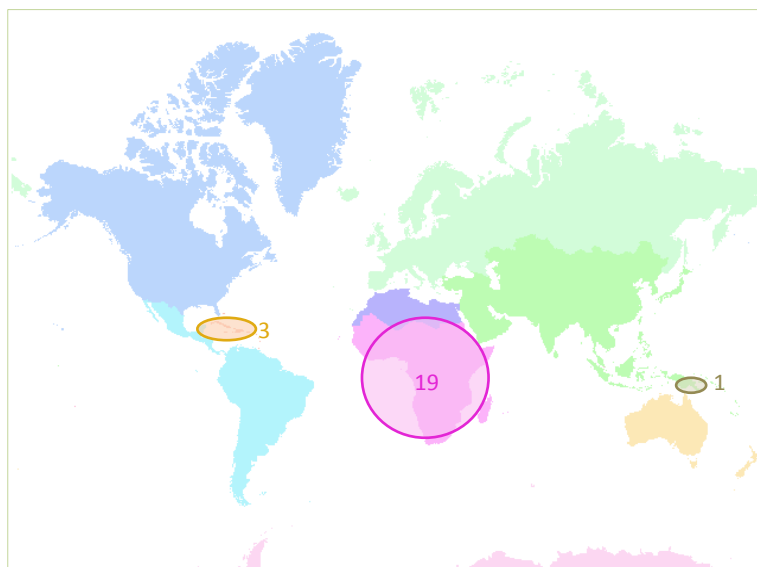
ACPFILMS - septembre 09

Montant de la Subvention accordée



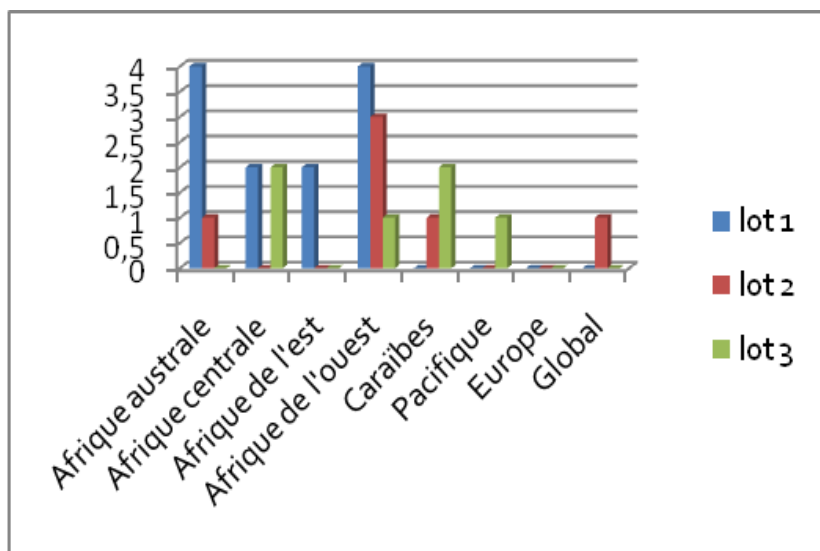
ACPFILMS - septembre 09

RÉPARTITION APRÈS SÉLECTION FINALE



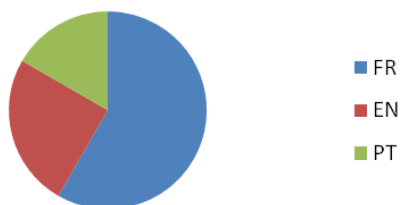
ACPFILMS - septembre 09

LIEUX DE L'ACTION



ACPFILMS - septembre 09

Langue principalement utilisée lors de l'Action

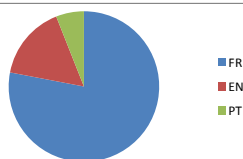


9ème FED

Projets mise en œuvre dans des pays **francophones**: 14

Projets mise en œuvre dans des pays **anglophones** : 6

Projets mise en œuvre dans des pays **lusophones** : 4

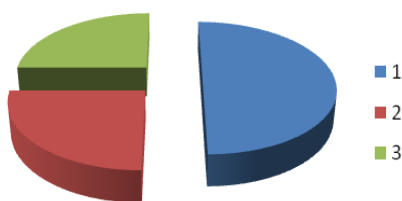


8ème FED

39 projets francophones, 8 projets anglophones, 3 projets lusophones

ACPFILMS - septembre 09

Répartition par Lot



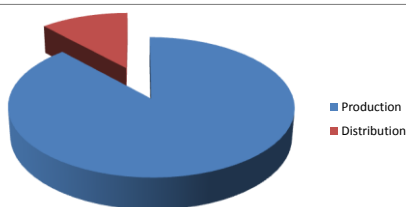
9ème FED

24 projets subventionnés (sur un appel)

• **12** projets dans le lot 1

• **6** projets dans le lot 2

• **6** projets dans le lot 3



8ème FED

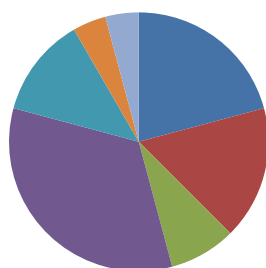
51 projets (sur 4 appels)

45 projets de production

6 projets de distribution

ACPFILMS - septembre 09

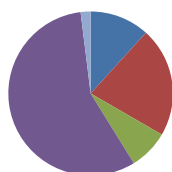
LIEUX DE L'ACTION



■ Afrique australe
■ Afrique centrale
■ Afrique de l'Est et Océan indien
■ Afrique de l'ouest
■ Caraïbes
■ Pacifique
■ Global

9^{ème} FED

Afrique australe : 5 projets
Afrique centrale : 4 projets
Afrique de l'est : 2 projets
Afrique de l'ouest : 8 projets
Caraïbes : 3 projets
Pacifique : 1 projet
Global : 1 projet



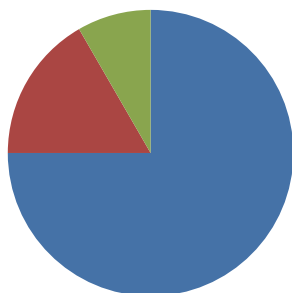
8^{ème} FED

Afrique australe: 6
Afrique centrale: 11
Afrique de l'est: 4
Afrique de l'ouest: 29

Caraïbes: 0
Pacifique: 0
Global: 1

ACPFILMS - septembre 09

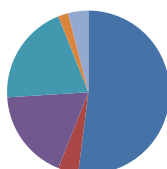
GENRE DE PRODUCTION



■ Long métrage
■ Série
■ Postproduction
■ Documentaire
■ Court métrage
■ Série animation
■ Téléfilms

9^{ème} FED

9 long-métrages
2 séries télévisées
1 projet de postproduction



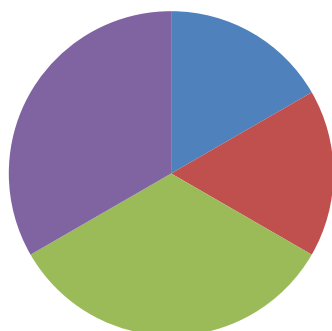
8^{ème} FED

Long métrages: 26
Séries: 2
Documentaires: 9

Court métrages: 10
Série d'animation: 1
Téléfilms: 2

ACPFILMS - septembre 09

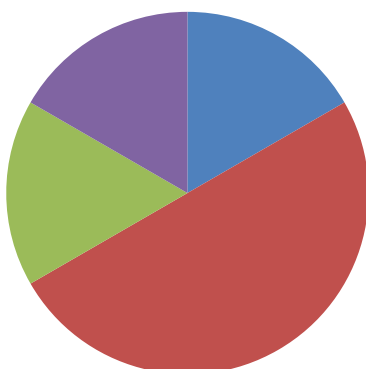
Types de projets



- Distribution numérique
- Marché documentaire
- Mise en réseau de festivals
- Mise en réseau de distributeurs et diffuseurs

ACPFILMS - septembre 09

Types de projets



- Ecriture et réalisation de série TV
- Renforcement des compétences
- Techniques d'animation
- Atelier de réalisation

ACPFILMS - septembre 09

CONCLUSION

- Extension des secteurs subventionnés avec la prise en considération de la formation de professionnels du cinéma et de l'audiovisuel
- Augmentation de la subvention par projet (250 000 à 400 000€)
- Extension de l'Aire géographique avec la subvention de projets originaires des Pacifiques et des Caraïbes)
- Extension de l'aire linguistique
- Faiblesse dans le genre documentaire (aucun projet retenu)
- Projet de production: plus de long métrages que de séries documentaire ou de séries télévisées

ACPFILMS - septembre 09